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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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IT is hard not to regret the passing of an old acquaintance, even when you do not love him. The Sixty-third Congress few of us love very dearly, though it was with us so long and so much. While we certainly had every opportunity to grow accustomed to it, the net impression it leaves behind is that of a body of men who did not intend to do as well as they did. Of their own initiative they would have dissolved into the local interests from which they sprang. They became under the leadership of the President a fairly amiable group of followers, a good background for his personality, and a not too obstructive sieve for legislation. They did not establish a New Freedom nor a Constitution of Peace. They performed a few concretely valuable services in a very unimaginative and convential way. The tariff has been reduced, though the method of making tariffs has not been improved. The Federal Reserve act is in operation. A Trade Commission has been created which may turn out to be a real advance in business regulation if the Commissioners set out to make it one. These three measures mind is revealed by the failure to do anything to improve fiscal methods, river and harbor legislation, pensions, conservation, or the rules of the House and Senate. Both bodies still vacillate between dictatorship and chaos, between machine rule and aimless meandering. Nothing has been done to fix financial responsibility, or make possible the formulating of large and coherent plans.

THE Sixty-third Congress has not only failed to make itself a more effective legislative body. It has betrayed the fact that it represents not the whole nation but certain classes within it. In a rough way it may be said that the moderate-sized business man, the importer, and to a lesser extent the farmer, have dominated its policy. Big business has been the object of a sham attack, inspired far more by an appeal to political prejudice than by a desire to bend great capital to social purposes. Trade unions have been recognized as a force by sections of the Clayton act, but it is an open question whether the promises of that legislation are not nine-tenths illusory. The national problem of unemployment has been shirked, child workers have been sacrificed again on the pretentious and deceptive plea of states' rights. Pretentious and deceptive that plea is because the Democrats have not hesitated to extend Federal power when it was needed to aid the particular business men and farmers who constitute its dominant supporters. It has been a rather blind Congress, more than usually fond of oratory and the large phrases of high morality which cover sectional and group interests. No intellectual leadership has distinguished it, no great policy will be associated with it. The best that can be said for it is that a rather commonplace body of representatives managed at tremendous cost of time and energy to pass a certain amount of fairly good legislation.

MR. Roland G. Usher, in his article else-

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which lead the nations of Europe to this war. Yet when he says that Europe will not listen now to our appeals for peace he is telling an obvious but necessary truth. If he overestimates the rationality of Europe, many American pacifists underestimate it. They are in the position of people shocked by horror who must do something to relieve their feelings. They seem quite willing to intervene without counting the cost of making a truce before there is a decision. They seem, moreover, to have seized the problem of peace at its least promising end. They have started in to make the belligerents peaceful instead of working to establish peace among the neutrals. Surely the beginning of constructive peace is not among the nations struggling for life, but among the neutral powers that have not lost their heads and are open for argument. Over the horror of war there can be no discussion, and over the value of peace no two sane minds will disagree. The ideal is clear enough, only the method of attaining it is in doubt. We wish there were a large scheme for quick and lasting peace which had some faint chance of realization. There does not seem to us to be any at the moment. The only course of action possible now seems to be the working out of a league of neutrals and a Pan-American union. Both of these objects are immensely difficult, but they are at least based on obvious common interests, and compared to a concert of the world they are child's play. Moreover, the attempt to establish these international organizations will perhaps furnish the experience needed for a league of nations.

AS a general principle it can scarcely be maintained that an opposition to woman suffrage implies a mind politically degenerate. Nor as a matter of logic is there any direct connection between a belief in woman suffrage and a belief in humane legislation. But in spite of these sagacious reservations, the woman suffragists can hardly be blamed for pointing the moral of the recent child labor bill in Congress. Among the two hundred and thirty-two legislators who favored this admirable measure there were a number of anti-suffragists, but out of the forty-four Congressmen who ventured to oppose it, forty-three were gentlemen who a short while previously showed a similar attitude of mind on the subject of woman suffrage. That the majority of these legislators come from the South and are notorious for chivalry is a point that leaps to attention. They oppose votes for women: equally do they oppose a slight measure of protection for children under fourteen. From this coincidence the severe logician may not choose to instructive would be feeble-minded. It is a record which the intelligent anti-suffragist must admit is unenviable. And it is probably only the first chapter in revelations as to the general legislative tendency of certain anti-suffragist groups.

LAST Tuesday morning a bevy of detectives attended seven o'clock mass at the Roman Catholic Cathedral in New York. In the middle of mass they were rewarded by observing an Italian youth bend to start the fuse of two bombs, and without a single slip they pounced on him and captured him. As a result of this gratifying forewarned action on the part of the police, public attention is once more aroused in New York to the existence of anarchists, revolutionaries, freethinkers, and "reds," and certain of the newspapers announce the beginning of a scouring "crusade." In this crusade, according to the papers, a clean job is to be performed. The police are "to rid city of all radicals," working by a card index which covers "anarchists, I.W.W. followers, and all other men and women connected with the radical propaganda." So far as the interception of Frank Abarno is concerned, it is police work at its best. It shows that the police are patrolling the line of deluded "radicalism" at its most treacherous points. But this is no time to give to Abarno's maleficent act the appearance of widespread inimical conspiracy. Had Abarno succeeded, the result would possibly have been tragically extensive, and public imagination would have inclined to conjure a correspondingly extensive organization. In advance of the evidence, however, it is folly to give Abarno's performance an institutional character, and it is hysteria to jumble all "radicals"—to use the ludicrous pat phrase—into that lurid institution. The police may be trusted to put the broadest possible basis behind the crime they have detected. It is for the public to be content, in spite of its alarm, to accept the crime as personal, unless there is something more than inflaming prejudice to the contrary.

TO the great relief of the country the administration has revived the charming, half-forgotten old custom of letting Congress go home for a while. Those members of the Sixty-third Congress who, because of circumstances over which they had no control, are not to be members of the Sixty-fourth, will see an element of unfairness in this decision. During the two years of the Wilson administration the principle that Congress and the country deserve an occasional rest from each other was completely forgotten. The Sixty-

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life; it publicly spoke sixty million words, many of them long; its thoughts on the national weal covered almost an acre in the Congressional Record. At home political fences moldered into dust, law practices melted away, there were cobwebs on the notary public seal, and the fire insurance calendar read March, 1913. Now the Sixty-fourth Congress, which has done nothing to weary itself or its country, is to begin work with a vacation.

AT a dinner given recently in his honor, Mr. Granville Barker sketched the history of his association with the modern English theatre and the intellectual and dramatic aims which had moulded his work. His speech was preeminently personal, and approached the matter frankly from the point of view of his own experience, but its interest was very far from being merely personal. His audience were deeply moved by the almost tremulous sincerity of his attachment to a disinterested purpose. They were convinced by his combination of enthusiasm, candor, thoroughness, intelligence and poise. They felt that under the management of such a man a theatre might be started in New York which would be indefinitely capable of making entertaining productions of really interesting plays—a theatre which would deserve to be subsidized without needing to be over-subsidized. There seems to be a good chance that such a theatre will be started, but whether it is started or not, New York will remain in debt to Mr. Granville Barker. He has, by virtue of his sincerity, his ardor, and his high artistic intelligence, restored to the New Theatre an authentic place in the imagination of his audiences.

WHEN the Army Appropriation bill was under consideration in the Senate, the members, worn and haggard from the labor of not passing the shipping measure, showed signs of cracking under the strain. The manager of the Army bill, remembering what all work and no play does for Jack, cheerfully yielded the floor, and the tired unbusiness men enjoyed four minutes of complete relaxation. A pleasant time was had by all. The period sped only too quickly, with badinage and restrained laughter and the passage of the Pension Appropriation bill carrying one hundred and sixty-four million dollars.

PRESIDENT Nicholas Murray Butler, much-experienced man, has seen the towns of many men and learned their minds. He has been teacher of philosophy, administrator, prop of society's old age, safe and sane sword in the hands of property, weisheit hot from Mr. William Barnes's bat. From such a man, when he falls to detecting and regretting a growing tendency to ask university professors to talk for publication about everything under the sun, we have a right to expect profounder truths than this: "The result has been a temptation to the assumption of infallibility that has proved too much for many academic persons in more lands than one." An inexact statement surely. This temptation exists always for all of us. One form of it only is strengthened by the habit of talking about everything in print, and this a mild form. Nothing confirms a man's belief in his infallibility like the habit of talking only about his specialty, about things he understands better than the next man. Nothing aggravates the importance he attaches to his opinions like an attempt to suppress them. President Butler himself, were he forbidden to talk about anything except his specialty, might be in danger of losing his light, fallible touch.

PATRICK Quinlan, who took part in the Paterson strike, has just been denied a retrial. A sentence of from two to seven years and a fine of five hundred dollars has been imposed upon him. Mr. Quinlan is charged with having said in a speech, "I make a motion that we go to the silk mills and parade through the streets and club them out of the mills. No matter how we get them, we got to get them out." Those who know Mr. Quinlan best claim that the tone and character of that remark are utterly inconsistent with anything that he might have said. Moreover, an affidavit has been made by one of the strikers, Mancini, who was interpreter at the meeting, that the words attributed to Quinlan were really shouted by some one else. The outstanding points in the case, however, are not these particular words. They are the fact that Quinlan took part in the strike which agitated Paterson, and that in the course of that strike he charged the city officials and the police with political corruption. He goes to prison now, not for the particular words which he may or may not have uttered, but as punishment for having taken part in the strike. The whole procedure seems purely vindictive and inept. No possible good can be achieved by visiting a terrible punishment upon a man whose technical guilt has not been satisfactorily proved. All that the Jersey courts will accomplish is to confirm the opinion among Quinlan's followers that the government set out to "get" him if it could. We understand that the court procedure was formally correct. Nevertheless the

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The Other Cheek

THE policy of reprisal against Germany adopted by the British and French governments has imposed on disinterested American opinion the responsibility of an extremely grave decision. Neutral countries have been deprived of the right to buy or sell goods of any kind in Germany and Austria; and they have been so deprived not by the use of a method sanctioned by the law of nations, such as a regular blockade, but by a revival of the practice of unregulated capture at sea of suspected vessels. The English Prime Minister in his explanation and defense of this policy bravely challenges a favorable verdict upon it from neutral countries. He declared in the House of Commons last Monday: "We are quite prepared to submit to the arbitrament of neutral opinion, and still more to the verdict of impartial history, that under the circumstances . . . we have adopted a policy which commends itself to reason, common sense and justice."

If Englishmen expect a favorable answer to the foregoing challenge they must be as blinded as are the Germans by their own military exigencies. Neutral countries are asked to submit to and approve an illegal and inhumane policy on the part of the Allies, because Germany has already adopted an even more illegal and inhumane policy. Germany's submarine blockade threatens the lives and property of both belligerents and neutrals. Therefore neutrals are to stand uncomplainingly aside while the Allies adopt any means, legal or illegal, to crush Germany. The Allies are going to save the neutrals from Germany, but who is going to save the neutrals from the Allies? The German threat to innocent neutral commerce with England was wanton, but it was incidental. The English threat to innocent neutral commerce with Germany is polite and benevolent in form, but in substance it is deadly. The complete suppression of American trade with Germany is considered to be a reasonable answer to the increasing hazards of American trade with Great Britain and to Germany's attempt to prevent British trade with other countries. The United States, after having been slapped on one cheek by Germany, is asked to agree to the justice of offering her other cheek to England.

Nor is this all. Mr. Asquith's speech assumed throughout that in establishing a "war zone" Germany had adopted an irrevocable policy which could only be answered by reprisals. But such is not the case. Germany has declared her willingness to abandon the war zone provided Great Britain will [illegible] of her civil population. If the Allies had been sincerely trying to carry on the war without violating international law and without doing any unavoidable injury to neutral commerce, they would surely have accepted the offices of this country and sought to reach some agreement with Germany which would put an end to the policy of brutal and indiscriminate retaliation. The negotiations might well have failed, but it is significant that they have not even been tried. The Allies were only too ready and eager to seize a good excuse for stifling German commerce.

The conclusion is plain. The Allies, having control of the sea, wish to obtain from that control the greatest military advantage at the smallest possible risk and cost. The Declaration of Paris and the other definitions of belligerent and neutral rights placed certain obstacles in the way of the most economical and efficient use of their sea power. They were permitted to stifle German commerce only by the costly and dangerous expedient of a blockade. There were so many objections to a blockade that they naturally desired to accomplish the same result by less expensive and more effective means. The German declaration of a war zone furnished them with a plausible excuse for dispensing with an inconvenient group of international regulations. They have taken the excuse, and by so doing have rendered a decisive victory on their part very much more probable.

Englishmen, Frenchmen and many Americans will consider the improved chances of victory for the Allies sufficient excuse for such a violation of international law. They will argue that under similar conditions the Germans would have done the same thing, only they would have done it sooner. Probably the Germans would have disregarded any international rule or agreement whose violation would have offered any sufficient military advantage. But neutral opinion might have reasonably expected a somewhat different standard of behavior from Great Britain. Since the outbreak of the war that country has claimed to represent not merely its own national interests but those of inoffensive anti-militarist powers. Its actions are supposed to be dictated by a higher moral standard than that of other countries. Yet in the prosecution of the war it takes the first opportunity of doing away with many of those very meagre limitations on sea power which have been so slowly and laboriously established. It asks the neutral countries to approve a complete rewriting of international marine law, the effect of which will be to place it within the power of Great Britain absolutely to crush any nation which lives

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tries have to give a blank check on their means of subsistence to another country, they would rather give it to England than to Germany, but they naturally prefer to retain the protection of those limitations on the power of belligerents which the reason and conscience of civilized nations have insisted on establishing.

To be sure, these international regulations are for the most part ambiguous, illogical, and only semi-authoritative compromises between belligerent and neutral interests. Intrinsically they do not deserve to be considered as expressive of the reason and conscience of civilized nations. There should be substituted for them, not a new system which makes war more profitable and more destructive, but a new system which tends to make war, if not impossible, at least less profitable and less destructive. Yet such as they are they do represent all the reasonable regulation which neutral powers, as a consequence of centuries of effort, have been able to extort from possible belligerents, and they represent the beginnings of a more pacific and humane international system. It is surely reasonable that war should not be allowed to interfere with the commerce of non-belligerents any more than is absolutely necessary. It is surely a mere survival of barbarism that a belligerent should have and assume the right to starve the women and children of its enemy. Belligerents ignore such considerations to a very considerable extent, because neutrals are not as yet willing to make the violation of international law a sufficiently costly operation. But the day will come when neutrals, instead of begging belligerents for a few crumbs of legal observance, will insist upon a set of rules the advantage of which lies with people who keep rather than people who break the peace.

The Control of Births

FEW intelligent people would still maintain that it is better to have been born an imbecile than not to have been born at all, or say in the genial language of Luther, "If a woman becomes weary, or at last dead, from bearing, that matters not; let her only die from bearing. She is there to do it." Yet this hideous doctrine is to-day an American policy enforced whenever possible by long imprisonment. The time is at hand when men and women must denounce it as a conspiracy by the superstitious against the race, when public opinion must compel the amendment of laws which make it a criminal offense to teach people how to control their fertility. known. The declining birth-rate shows that they are in use by the upper classes of all countries, including the United States. They are widely distributed in Europe and Australia. In Holland the society which instructs the poorer classes through the agency of medical men and midwives has had the approval of ministers of state, and has since 1895 been recognized by royal decree as a society of public utility. Yet Holland has not been going to the dogs. The death-rate and infantile mortality have been falling rapidly, the excess of births over deaths is increasing, and according to the recent Eugenics congress, the stature of the Dutch people has improved more rapidly than that of any other country.

But what so many of the well-to-do and the educated practice, the poor are prevented from learning. The law in effect insists that where conditions are worst, breeding shall be most unregulated, that those who can care for children least shall stagger under a succession of pregnancies, that the race shall be replenished by ignorance and accident, that the diseased, the weak-minded, the incompetent, shall by law be compelled to fill the world with horror. Men and women pay for it. They pay for it by a high infant mortality, that monument of tragic waste. They pay for it by the multiplication of the unfit, the production of a horde of unwanted souls. They pay for it in the health of women, the neglect of children, and the fierce burden of destitution. They pay for it in late marriages and their complement of prostitution and disease, in the widespread practice of abortion, in illegitimate births, in desertions and adulteries. There is no one of these miseries which cannot be largely reduced by the extension to all classes of inventions already the property of the educated.

What are the objections to the use of a knowledge which is defended by so few and practiced by so many? The root of them is the tendency to shudder at anything which seems to interfere with God's plan. Added to it is the theory that sex is sin, that whatever reduces its terror increases its joy. In this scheme of things the child is a threat against unchastity, a punishment, as they say, for "getting caught." It is the view of life which makes men fight prophylaxis as an inducement to immorality, which terrorizes the unmarried mother, and insists that the wages of sin shall be expiated in the death of infants, in thwarted childhood, in hospitals, insane asylums, and prisons.

But the clean good sense of mankind is through with that black inversion, and wherever intelligent people meet, the doctrine is ac-

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punishment of sin but the vessel of the future. All decency to-day insists that no one shall be born until there is a home anxious to receive him, that nothing is to be gained by the bearing of undesired and unforeseen children. It is argued that contraception is injurious. No doubt some methods are injurious, but that there is a simple method innocuous enough seems to be amply proved. It has been claimed that there is a subtle psychic injury in the use of mechanical preventives, but it has not been demonstrated, and against this possibility must be weighed the crushing effects on the health of the race which clearly result from chaotic breeding.

Among reasoning people the argument from superstition is no longer heard, and the supposed injury to health is urged less and less. The ground of the discussion to-day is moral. It is said that if sexual intercourse is severed from childbearing, a great increase of promiscuity will result. Reduced to accurate terms, it is believed that more unmarried women will have sexual relations. On this ground the existing law is defended. But what is the actual situation? The fact that contraceptives are not widely known is the greatest cause of late marriages, because it is the cost of children which makes men postpone their marriages. This leaves an increasing population of unmarried men and women. The great majority of men live an illicit sexual life with the minority of women who are prostitutes. The other women remain abstinent or they take a lover and either bear an illegitimate child or undergo an abortion. The use of contraceptives would undoubtedly diminish the real evils of illegitimacy and abortion. There would remain the women who prefer celibacy, the women who are condemned to it, the women who honestly prefer to wait for a husband, and the women who are afraid not to wait. These last are the ones whom the moralists have in mind. They are thinking of a vaguely defined but real class who preserve a technical virginity for fear that they will become pregnant. The defenders of the law are afraid, too, that a general relaxation would follow, that this class would grow at the expense of the women who now believe in a really monogamous life.

This, as we understand it, is the case as it stands in the minds of most people to-day. There is an honest conviction that ignorance of preventives is the safeguard of chastity. It would be folly to deny that it is a safeguard, though it is certainly not the only one. The question is whether earlier marriages, the reduction of illegitimacy and abortion, the prevention of too frequent pregnancy with its disastrous effect on the the lightening of economic burdens, the decrease in the birth of the unfit, are not reasons which far outweigh the importance attached to the personal chastity of a minority among women. Is everything to wait for them? Are we to balk at measures which will do more than any step we can take to solidify the family, to make it sane, tolerable, and civilized, because we are afraid that some women cannot be trusted with the conduct of their own lives? Is society to set all its machinery in operation to make a terrifying darkness, for fear that the light of knowledge may tempt a few?

Surely the cost is monstrous and the method ridiculous. For after all, ignorance can be enforced only upon those wives of the poor who suffer from it most. The young woman of the middle class who really wishes to know can find out, but it is the poor and the illiterate who need to know and cannot find out. It is the business of society to enlighten them, to allow physicians and district nurses and mothers' clubs to spread the needed information. It should not be necessary for brave women like Mrs. Sanger to risk their liberty. The knowledge need not be published in the newspapers. It should be circulated quietly and effectively. What society cannot afford to do is to enforce the ignorance because of a timidity about the potentially unchaste. A mature community would trust its unmarried women, knowing that the evil of unchastity is greatly exaggerated. Our society does not seem to have attained such self-confidence; it still seems to regard virginity and not child life as the great preoccupation of the state.

It has been claimed that the knowledge of how to limit births is the most immediate practical step that can be taken to increase human happiness. The relief which it would bring to the poor is literally incalculable. The assistance it would lend all effort to end destitution and fight poverty is enormous. And to the mind of man it would mean a release from terror, and the adoption openly and frankly of the civilized creed that man must make himself the master of his fate; instead of natural selection and accident, human selection and reason; instead of a morality which is fear of punishment, a morality which is the making of a finer race. Fewer children and better ones is the only policy a modern state can afford. If there are fewer children there will be better ones. A nation must care for its young if they are precious. It cannot waste them in peace or war with that insane prodigality which is characteristic of the great spawning and dying nations where the birth-rate and the death-rate are both exorbi-

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A Decline of Legicide

THE city of New York is passing through an illuminating political experience. It is suffering inconvenience from the effects of a piece of unwise and inhumane economic legislation. Some years ago the legislature passed at the solicitation of the labor unions a law forbidding the employment of any but American citizens on municipal public work. It remained for the most part a dead law, but it was restored to life last fall, and the contractors for the new subway system were called upon to discharge their alien employees. Compliance with the demand would have increased unemployment, and seriously delayed and embarrassed the work on the subways. As is usual in such cases, the constitutionality of the law was challenged, and the lower courts practically suspended its operation pending a decision on the case by the Court of Appeals. To the consternation of many good people the higher Court has sustained its constitutionality.

The consternation with which the decision has been received is not caused merely by the resulting inconvenience. It is caused quite as much by a general sense among the powers that something is out of joint. If the courts cannot be trusted to dispose of vexatious and injurious laws, the American political system has been robbed of one of its priceless merits. According to all but very recent precedents, the Court of Appeals would almost certainly have refused to administer this particular statute. Armed with "due process of law" and "equal rights" clauses of the Constitution, and conscious of its paternal responsibility for the welfare of the state, it had been one of the mightiest slayers of statutes in the jungle of American legalism. It could be so completely trusted to hunt down and kill off legal marauders that legislative practice became adjusted to the presence of a vigilant and remorseless executioner. Such a deft and dependable slayer deserved to be supplied with succulent victims. If an organization could bring enough pressure to bear on the legislature, that body would enact almost any kind of law with the expectation and intention of having it killed by the Court of Appeals. By so doing the legislature was able to evade a good many dangerous responsibilities, the onus of which the Court was eager to assume.

Of late, however, public opinion has been seized by a humane interest in the fate of statutory malefactors. The conviction has spread that many of the laws were more sinned against than sinning. At first the Court of Appeals refused absolutely to be moved by this sentimental tenderness. It is staying its hand and allowing statutes to survive which formerly would have been condemned to execution.

The result will be to place legislative responsibility where it properly belongs, that is, on the legislative body. The State legislature will no longer be able to evade inconvenient and dubious demands by passing bills which fairly merit and solicit destruction at the hands of the courts. In the present instance the Republicans at Albany will be asked to repeal the vexatious statute. If they refuse, they will delay the subway and earn the unpopularity of owners of real estate and the friends of the immigrant. If they consent, they will provoke the enmity of certain powerful labor interests. They can take their choice, and it is choices of this kind which the ordinary legislature will do anything to avoid.

The diminution of the practice of legicide is indispensable to the creation of a responsible and self-respecting state legislative system, but it will not of itself be sufficient to bring such a system into existence. While the irresponsibility of the legislatures was increased by the eagerness of the courts to seize any plausible opportunity of undoing their work, this legicidal tendency on the part of the courts was accepted without protest, largely because of the untrustworthy character of our state legislatures. Some effective means had to be taken to get rid of unusually worthless and injurious statutes. If, as now appears certain, the scope of the judicial veto is destined to be very much restricted by the voluntary action of the courts, the work of improving legislative methods and output becomes more rather than less acute. The judicial veto was only one symptom of a profound and almost universal distrust of American state legislatures. The distrust was justified, and in spite of certain minor improvements of behavior in different parts of the country, it still remains justified.

The recent decisions of the Court of Appeals have consequently increased the importance of the problem of legislative reorganization. The New York legislature among others must be made into a sober and more satisfactory piece of legislative mechanism. Many attempts to accomplish this result have been tried in the past, but none of them succeeded, because they were all based upon a naïve expectation that the behavior of law-givers could be effectively regulated by law. Nothing is to be gained by trying to impose orderly procedure on the legislative bodies, or by merely prohibiting

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takes. There are always many other and ingenious ways of being disorderly and of making mistakes. The remedy must be sought rather in the direction of reorganizing and strengthening legislative leadership and of making it more responsible to an alert and powerful body of public opinion. This is the most immediately important problem confronting the Constitutional Convention.

The Utilities Bureau

SUPPOSE the citizens of Jonesville make up their minds that the rates charged by their gas company ought to be lower. Jonesville has forty thousand inhabitants. Their gas company is capitalized at seven hundred thousand dollars. The contest does not look unequal. It would not be unequal if the gas company were really as isolated and self-dependent as Jonesville.

But the gas company is not dependent upon itself alone. It is controlled by a holding company capitalized at a hundred and ten million dollars. If the holding company cares to, it can put more money and experter experts into this case than Jonesville can afford. The case may raise questions certain to come up again in disputes between other communities and other plants controlled by the holding company. The more important the case, the less likely is Jonesville to present its side as forcibly as money and organization enable the holding company to present the corporate side.

Holding companies control nearly five and a half of the eight billions invested in American gas, electric, street railway and interurban railway companies. About eighty-nine million persons are served by electric light and power and gas companies. Holding companies serve sixty-two of these eighty-nine millions, or about seventy per cent. Holding companies control seventy-six per cent of the two billions invested in electric light and power; two-thirds of the billion and a third invested in artificial gas; two-thirds of the five billion invested in street and interurban railways. The Middle West Utilities Company will do as an example. It operates in twelve states and three hundred and fifteen cities.

Naturally these companies have their own bureaus for collecting the facts they need. What machinery exists for collecting facts and putting them in such form that they can be used to give fair prices and good service to the consumers who pay for public utility services? Separate states have in a more or less reliable form the facts published in the reports of state public service commissions. The mayors of American cities, at their conference in Philadelphia on Public Policies as to come for attempting a like work on a national scale. The result is the Utilities Bureau.

The functions of this Utilities Bureau are to collect and collate data as to rates, service standards and cost factors in municipal utilities; to prepare these data for the use of cities, public bodies, corporations and interested citizens; to help by study and advice cities that want help in solving their utility problems; to codify the decisions of public service commissions and other judicial or quasi-judicial bodies; to make and keep up a list of engineers, lawyers, accountants and valuation experts; to encourage the introduction of cost-keeping methods, similar to those followed in the industries, throughout the utilities, whether publicly or privately owned, and to develop standard forms and methods for reporting basic facts; to serve as a national agency through which American cities may cooperate by exchanging data as to cost factors, service standards and rates.

In any difference of opinion between a city and a public utility corporation advantages are at present likely to be the corporation's. Unless we assume that the public interest and the corporation's interest are always identical, such a central body as the Utilities Bureau is needed. When these two interests are identical, and they not infrequently are, the Utilities Bureau's business will be to make this fact, so eminently worth knowing, known far and wide. Public service commissions are quasi-judicial bodies which decide cases on the facts presented by the two parties to the controversy. If the Utilities Bureau does its work thoroughly, the public side will hereafter be fully presented. The Bureau's purposes are ambitious and far-reaching. Their accomplishment will depend largely upon the degree to which cities are willing to pay for its services.

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If Constantinople Falls

WHATEVER doubt there may be as to the changes in the map of eastern Europe incident to the capture of the Turkish capital by the Allied fleet, there can be no doubt as to the naval and military consequences. At one blow the Turkish arms of the Central European Alliance will be severed from the trunk. This arm, too, is at the moment literally at the throat of the anti-German alliance, strangling Russia.

Once Constantinople falls and the straits to the east and to the west are opened, there will flow to Russia's allies all the vast stores of wheat now waiting at Odessa for the end of the blockade. More important still will be the cargoes of ammunition, of guns, of gold, that will go from Marseilles and from Southampton to the Black Sea ports. Russia will at last break through the bonds that winter and the Kaiser's Turkish ally have imposed upon her, and join hands through the Dardanelles with the sea powers.

Again, it matters not whether Russian, French, British, or all three flags are flown on the hills that rise above the Golden Horn, the effect of the Allied occupation of Constantinople upon Bulgaria must be immediate and decisive. Until Bulgaria has given her consent in the shape of a guarantee that she will not attack them, neither Rumania nor Greece, each with real prizes to be won by doing it, can join in the attack upon Austria.

Such consent Bulgaria naturally will not give so long as Greece, Rumania and Servia remain the sole gainers by the Balkan war in which Bulgaria paid the heaviest toll. But if the Allies reach Constantinople, then the vilayet of Adrianople, retaken from Bulgaria by Turkey when Bulgaria was attacked by Servia, Greece and Rumania, will be theirs to bestow. Ten thousand square miles and nearly a million population is a prize that might easily win Bulgaria, if not to alliance at least to permanent neutrality. And to take it she would have merely to stretch out her hand.

This would release Rumania, but it would do more. Such a gain for Bulgaria would go far to destroying the present superiority of Rumania in population and area; to restore the balance she would be bound to seek to liberate three million Rumanians in Bukovina and in Transylvania. Not merely the desire for a Greater Rumania would then drive her statesmen, but they would be forced to consider, as they were after the first Balkan war, the necessity to preserve their position as the strongest of the Balkan states.

But for the sullen, resentful, doubtful attitude of Bulgaria, Greece would long ago have been beside Servia on the Danube and the Drina. Victorious Austria would not halt her southward march at the new Greek frontier; Salonica, next to Constantinople the prize of the Near East, has long been the goal of Ballplatz diplomacy. For Greece it would be better to defend it in the valley of the Morava than at the shore of the Aegean. With the destruction of Turkey-in-Europe, too, Greece must consider the millions of Hellenes in Asia Minor. Her sympathy, her interests, her very safety lie with the Allies.

Italy's situation is only slightly different. For her the Mediterranean question is one of life or death. She has chosen to separate herself from her old allies. Whatever else is doubtful, there is now no possibility that she will enter the battle line with the two kaisers. From them she has nothing to expect if they are victorious. Rather, she has much to fear, for the outposts she has established across the Straits of Otranto on Valona Bay are as grave a menace to Austria's position in the Adriatic as the Turkish batteries at the Dardanelles are a barrier to the southern sea gate of Russia.

But if Italy stays neutral she can expect little real reward from the anti-German alliance. Only those will speak with authority in the congress which makes peace who have fought on the winning side, shared the peril, paid the cost in blood and treasure. France, England and Russia victorious, their control in the Middle Sea will be supreme, not to be challenged. They can then divide the Near East. Already Britain has annexed Egypt. French designs for a Syrian protectorate have been long known. Even Greece, as a soldier of France and England, may easily persuade her greater allies to ask Italy to leave Rhodes, to retire from the Dodecanese.

A partition of territories which leaves Italy out will be fatal to the Italian future, which holds the dream of restoring the commercial and a fraction of the political greatness of Venice in the Aegean and of Rome on the north African shores. Certainly if the Anglo-French-Russian alliance wins, Italy will have no peril of an attack to face. But she will be outside the ranks of those who lay down the boundaries which are likely to endure for many years to come. She came too late to get Algeria or Tunis, Egypt or Morocco.

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gered, for to the Turk Tripoli is another Trentino.

In sum, then, the fall of Constantinople would materially and promptly change the whole situation in the Near East, it would exercise a tremendous influence upon all the neutrals in the eastern Mediterranean, it might conceivably bring Italy, Rumania and Greece into the battle lines to fill the gap between the Russians and the Servians, and turn the Austrian flank along the Adriatic and the Alps. But in any event it would pass an immediate sentence of death upon those who now control the waning power of the Osmanli. Enver Bay and the handful of pro-German statesmen who rushed their country into a third terrible war before the wounds of two earlier disasters had healed, would infallibly pay the price failure imposes in the Turkish world. With their passing, Russian troops in the Caucasus, British troops in Egypt, would be released for service in Europe. Turkey would disappear from the war, as from Europe.

There remains to be considered one more important detail. It is arguable that when Sir Edward Grey, following the impressive words of Sazonof, spoken at the moment of Russian defeat in East Prussia, asserted that Britain was at one with her great ally in the desire that she should reach the warm water, he did not mean that England would permit Byzantium to be Russia's to have and to hold. But it is wholly unlikely. The probability is that the Anglo-French fleet will reach the city before any Russian force by land or sea. But does anyone suppose that the Anglo-French flags in Pera and Galata would not give way to the Russian if there came the smallest whisper from Petrograd of the possibility of a separate peace with Berlin?

The truth is that Russia holds the key of the situation. Without her the defeat of Germany is not only unthinkable, but the ultimate defeat and crushing of France an immediate consideration. If the Czar desires to go to Stamboul he will go. And the world knows that he does desire to go. For his dynasty, for his nation, the restoration of the cross on St. Sophia will be a triumph far overbalancing all disasters in other fields. For his allies, such a service to Russia will have an inestimable value in providing a means to pay Russia for the great sacrifices she has made, for bearing the burden of the terrible conflict for the past four months, for giving lives so freely and so unhesitatingly at Tannenberg that Paris might be saved.

There can be no questioning the fact that for their own sakes, for the future course of the war, the Allies must now take Constantinople and dem-

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peace comes, to share possession with the Czar now. Sir Edward Grey could not have meant less, Sergius Sazonof would not ask less, and it is his, not Grey's, to decide.

Nothing, perhaps, better demonstrates the fashion in which the world is changing under our eyes almost hourly, nothing more thoroughly emphasizes the greatness of the time in which we are living, than the struggle now going on at the western sea gate of Constantinople. After five centuries the sands of the Osmanli are running out, the Eastern question, which for two centuries has kept the world by the ears, is approaching a final liquidation, and dimly, through the fog of the tumultuous present, it is possible to perceive a time when Russia may fulfill the forecast of the great Napoleon, may dominate continental Europe, with one hand on the Dardanelles and the other on the mouth of the Vistula. All this British statesmen see, have long seen, but they had to choose between the Russian and the German, and wisely or mistakenly they have chosen the Slav and must henceforth abide by the consequences of their decision. The sailing orders of the fleet before the Dardanelles may come from Paris and from London, but Paris and London hereafter get their marching orders from Petrograd.

FRANK H. SIMONDS.

American Appeals for Peace

A NUMBER of organizations, national in scope, are in process of being created for the purpose of making an appeal in the name of the American people for the cessation of European hostilities and the consideration of terms of peace. A convention met at Chicago the last week in February which was the culmination of a series of meetings and conferences to formulate propositions to be placed before the European governments. An armistice is proposed while the associations are defining what they believe to be a fundamental basis for permanent peace. They will then ask for discussion of their proposals by a congress of representatives from the belligerent nations which the President of the United States will summon. Their actual demands are far-reaching and truly fundamental. They denounce the signature of a treaty of peace by the governments after conference with one another, as has been usual, and demand practically a submission of treaties to popular vote; war indemnities are to be denied, alliances between nations for defense or offense are to be discountenanced, and all nations are to join in the establishment of an International

the European governments of the two most fundamental tenets of international association since men began to write history.

The causes which seem to them sufficient for asking the cessation of hostilities and the signature of a treaty of peace are the slaughter of men, the atrocities committed against non-combatants, and the destruction of property. The assumption is clear that such allegations, when made by the American people in a dignified and formal way, will seem to the European nations adequate reason for the conclusion of peace. Does this not assume that when the Europeans went to war they did not realize the results of war, and that they will at once stop fighting when the nature of these effects is pointed out to them by the American people? Does not this in turn assume them ignorant of common facts about warfare, practically devoid of conscience, without religion, ignorant of humanitarian instincts? Does it not also imply that they have stultified themselves by acting as their ancestors acted, by adopting the policies which brought them into the present war? Does it not necessarily assume that the war is without adequate cause, and that fighting is superfluous for the settlement of the difficulties between the belligerents?

It is important for us to realize, at the moment of undertaking so entirely laudable a mission as the cause of peace, the probable attitude of Europe toward these underlying assumptions. It is at times imperative not only that we should see ourselves as others see us, but that we should see other people as they see themselves. We must understand a little more of the psychology of European nations if we are to appeal to them with success. It seems difficult to predicate a favorable reception by any of them of such assumptions regarding their humanity, liberty, and common sense as these proposals make. Shall we not be told that we ought to concede them the same Christian instincts, the same love of peace, the same dislike of slaughter, the same preference for the preservation of life and property of which we ourselves are conscious? Ought we not to assume, indeed, that the humanitarian reasons for stopping the war are greater in Europe, and already make a more powerful appeal there than they can possibly make to us, and that to these our protest, however formal and dignified, can add little? When we are assuming that the men and women who sent their children to the firing-line, who have themselves lived through wars, know nothing of the effects of wars, when we are asking them to arouse themselves to the realities and horrors of warfare, to be moved by the suffering of humanity and the destruction of property necessary destruction, are we not in danger of committing a very real impertinence? When we tell them, virtually, that we believe they began the war without adequate reason, shall we not be charged with a lack of conception and common sense? Shall we not be guilty of further impertinence if we tell them, to all intents and purposes, that they have acted with extreme folly by involving themselves in such calamity? It is difficult to see how the people of Europe, accustomed to think of America as a huge, wealthy, but essentially crude country, can look very favorably upon this type of reasoning. It is also asking too much of human nature to expect the very men who are responsible for the outbreak of the war to stop it because of an appeal based upon the recognition of their own folly and brutality.

In all probability—if any answer at all is made to such an appeal—we shall be told with unanimity by the belligerents that our general notions of the situation, both as regards the causes of the war and the conditions necessary for peace, are unrelated to the true facts of the European situation and ignore its principal factors. The geography of Europe, the history of Europe, racial antagonism, commercial ambitions, aggression and brutality in the past, national aspirations and ideals—all these find little or no place in the picture of European conditions which the men and women behind the American movement for peace have constructed. It may well be that none of these factors are adequate causes for warfare; it may be that the present war is unnecessary and senseless; it may be that the statesmen and diplomats who gave the orders which began it possessed none of the finer instincts of humanity, and understood little of the consequences of their deed; but is it likely that Europeans themselves will grant any such premises as these?

When it becomes necessary to persuade men and women to action, tact, forbearance, and the fullest recognition of facts have usually in the past been indispensable. The situation as it appears to the European, the causes of the war as he sees them, a willingness to concede his uprightness, his honesty of purpose, his love of peace, his desire to act in consonance with the dictates of the highest humanity—all these seem to be the necessary premises of an appeal whose efficacy must depend upon moral and ethical ideas. The vast majority of people in all countries apparently have no doubt that war is abnormal and horribly wrong. Ought we not at least to assume that the European nations have gone to war despite the horrors which they knew would result from it, instead of in ignorance that they would result? Nor can

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damental tenets of international association in Europe which history records. They may be entirely wrong, and the European nations may themselves in the future recognize that fact; but we are surely unduly optimistic if we suppose them likely to stop a war which grew out of these principles, and which is being fought to maintain them, simply because of a formal statement by the American people that these principles are wrong.

After all, we are a comparatively young nation. Such civilization as we have we have got from the nations of Europe; such humanitarian notions as we possess we brought from Europe; and if we forget or deny these facts, Europeans are not likely to forget them. It is, perhaps, too soon to ask them to concede that the pupil has already outstripped his teacher. It may be true, but they will feel themselves within their rights and within the probabilities if they remain incredulous. The first principle of successful argument has been supposed to be the understanding of the position of those whom we seek to convince. It is more than likely that the Europeans will not recognize as theirs the portrait which these peace associations are so assiduously painting, and that they may decline to consider seriously the appeal on the ground that it does not apply to their case.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Forbidden Books

IN my uncle's house, where I lived until I was seventeen, most of the books were concentrated in a room known as the back parlor. It had more doors and windows than a library needs, but not more than my cousins and I needed. If you listened carefully you could tell through which door my uncle's wife was approaching, and you had a fair chance of escaping through the other. She meant to be vigilant, but of course she wasn't so quick on her feet as we. Not more than twenty times, so far as I remember, did she catch me off my guard, reading when I should have been getting my lessons in the schoolroom. And only twice or thrice did she find me reading one of the forbidden books.

Among these was a "Jane Eyre," bound in yellow boards, published by Smith, Elder & Co., a near-first edition. My uncle's wife, although I recall the frequency with which she yielded to none in her admiration of Charlotte Bronté, counted "Jane Eyre" as unfit for young minds. Byron, too, was forbidden, excepting "Childe Harold." I wish I could describe the ardor with which, as soon as I heard of these prohibitions, I rummaged Byron and "Jane Eyre." It would be pleasant to exhibit myself as an adventurous rebel. I rather wish I had been. But I wasn't. Long before I knew how to read I was familiar with these and the other prohibitions, through hearing them repeated to my cousins. Not until I was thirteen or fourteen did I read "Jane Eyre," patiently trying to find out why it could have been barred. It was not in any spirit of revolt, but quite by accident, that I took down Byron one day. Imagine my surprise on discovering that these small and chunky volumes were a present to my grandfather from

Later I set myself the task of discovering why Byron was forbidden. Only in two places, in "The Waltz" and "Beppo," was the evidence at all satisfactory. Mr. Murray hadn't given my grandfather "Don Juan." Why not? Could it be that "Don Juan" was too strong even for grandfathers? I hoped so, I tried to believe so, and a yearning for "Don Juan" flooded my heart.

No doubt I am cutting a poor figure in these reminiscences. A more spirited child would have saved his pocket-money and bought a "Don Juan." He would not have rested until he had charted all forbidden waters. The best excuse I can offer is the caprice or negligence of my uncle's wife, who overlooked many books containing the food I sought. There was a Juvenal, for instance, translated into rhymed pentameters, and tucked away in a drawer underneath a bookcase. Among books that have helped me Juvenal ranks high. He gave me knowledge to drink, and left me thirsty. He taught me that crimes existed of which I could guess neither the motive nor the process. And then, of course, there was always the Old Testament. What an ear one has in childhood, at morning service or evensong, for words which sound as if they would lead in the right direction. I listened, remembered, and consulted Webster's unabridged. On good days the definition itself would sometimes contain as many as two new and iniquitous words.

In these researches my joy was sharpened by a sense of guilt. It was also blighted, now and then, by wonder whether I wasn't merely not acting like a gentleman. My cousins were all girls and taught me nothing. From other boys I learned little. Their remarks, although thrilling, struck me as

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only, but of inward liberty, a world whose free citizens bore themselves with a certain grace. My idea of the right spirit in affairs of sex was satisfied by the eighth Odyssey, when Apollo, looking at the net in which Hephaestus has caught Aphrodite and Ares, says agreeably: "Hermes, son of Zeus, messenger and giver of good things, would'st thou be fain, aye, pressed by strong bonds though it might be, to lie on the couch by golden Aphrodite?" In the right spirit, too, was Hermes' answer, and the laughter that rose among the deathless gods. Less happily, I felt, would my uncle and my uncle's wife have behaved themselves, had they been invited to see some neighbor's wife in a net.

Later, when I was sixteen, and went to live in Italy for a year, I came down from these heights, and read more widely—physiology, "Venus and Adonis," "Pamela," and a few exciting works of edification, exhorting youth to chastity and purity of heart. Excitement was what I was after now, and greater ease in my environment of increasing knowledge. I found "A Sentimental Journey" exciting enough, yet not wholly to my liking. Sterne was a clergyman—a fact I couldn't forget and resented. Something in his tone reminded me, faintly and unpleasantly, of youthful handwriting on the wall.

Until I came back to the United States and went to an American college, my studies in sex were lonely and rather furtive. At college, in my freshman year, I was revolutionized by the discovery that other boys, whose people were quite worthy to associate with mine, who did their lessons as diligently as I, and got better marks, shared my interest in the great mystery. Astounding revelation! Here had I been mistakenly supposing, all these years, that this interest appealed to me alone among the well-bred and the decent. Shackles fell from me. What had been an obsession dwindled into a lively interest. My uncle, to whom I risked a "good" story, told me a better. But when I asked him what conduct could reasonably be expected of such a being as man, in such a world as the present, I got only the dustiest answers.

Boldly did my friends and I prosecute our studies. We rated Guy de Maupassant high. We approved the detached tone which was his, the trained casualness with which one of his characters would say things like "Ce fut mon premier adultère." The reading of "Une Vie" was an initiation. I was almost alone, however, in my partiality for a story of Mérimée's, "La Chambre Bleue." In most Maupassant stories the men could readily imagine experiencing what happened in "La Chambre Bleue."

After these early college days I can't recall the steps in my ascent to the plane I now soar at, whence I look with an impartial eye upon books sexful and sexless. Sometimes, thinking things over, I doubt whether my early reading was chosen wisely. "Beppo," Juvenal, the Old Testament, Sterne, Maupassant—couldn't one make a better diet for young persons, if any such there be, whose elders still keep curiosity burning in the dark? I don't mean to approve those books which Every One Approaching Puberty Should Read. Without having read them I suspect their authors of intentional holiness. And the average boy should be taught to regard sex as more serious than holy. Sex isn't any holier than a lot of other things in life. Clear-eyed children see streaks of unreality in sex-holiness. I shouldn't have been a better man, perhaps, if my knowledge of sex had been gained less secretly from lesser writers. Yet I don't want my children's knowledge to come quite as mine did. But how should it come? You think yourself competent to talk of sex to your children without false valuations? If you do think so, try putting a dictograph on your trail.

Q. K.

The Undiscovered Art

"MATHEMATICS," said Novalis, "is the life supreme. The life of the gods is mathematics."

We should not have expected, perhaps, to turn for a description of this subject to a romantic poet of the eighteenth century, and yet no better statement has ever been made of the meaning which the higher mathematics has for its votaries. The poet has done better in this respect than the mathematician himself. Better than Benjamin Pierce, when he said it was the science that drew necessary conclusions. Better than Mr. Bertrand Russell, when he tells us, with an intention far less playful than it seems, that "mathematics may be defined as the subject in which we never know what we are talking about, nor whether what we are saying is true."

It is Novalis who reveals the secret dream of every mathematician—that some day the world will wake up and recognize that mathematics is a fine art. The dream is the expression of a deep desire. For the mathematician is intellectually lonely. He is like a child at a party, who is a welcome, a particularly welcome, playmate at other people's games, but as soon as he suggests bring-

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principally because in the depths of his fanatical heart he believes that he has a message for the world.

Plato is said to have written over his door: "Let no one ignorant of geometry enter here." To-day such a restriction would much reduce his visiting-list. Perhaps outside the professional mathematicians he would have no one at all. All the artists, the philanthropists, the historians, to say nothing of those ladies and gentlemen of leisure whose critical faculties are so importantly developed nowadays, would certainly be absent, and, worse still, would suffer very little at their exclusion. Yet, going back into the centuries for guests, a distinguished company might have been assembled of those who, without being famous merely for mathematical studies, were known to have understood and loved the subject. The Greek philosophers would have been there in a body, Alphonso X, Omar Khayyam, Albert Dürer, Leonardo da Vinci, Descartes, Pascal, Napoleon and Lewis Carroll.

Unmoved by this alluring list, however, many educated people go through life supposing not only that they do very well without mathematics, but that they do better. For the general state of mind when confronted with a piece of mathematical reasoning is first a consciousness of painful mental inferiority, instantly followed by one of creative or artistic superiority. Neither, in the opinion of the mathematician, is in the least justified.

Most people forced to face a mathematical problem go through some such process as this. They say: "This is perfectly simple and yet I can't understand it. I cannot use my mind this way. I don't seem to be able to reason here, where they tell me only reason is required. Am I mentally deficient, or rather, has this obvious mental deficiency any real importance?" The answer is always no.

"No," they say, "for this is not really reasoning, at least not in the sense in which I, as a successful lawyer, artist, business man (or whatever may be the speaker's legitimate source of pride) have used reason to reach my results. The qualities that have made my conclusions so sound and valuable have been different; they have been more imaginative and intuitional. They have not been this killing step-by-step process of mathematical deduction. I cannot understand that because I do not need it. I rush on, leaving that behind. I rush on, not in spite of my mathematical deficiency, but because of it." And there you are.

Now a great deal of this is true. No one knows, knowing for the first time what a sound mental

not of much immediate use in practical life. He even goes so far as to question its possibility. He says to himself that mathematics is the name of the only field in which such thinking is possible. In all other domains, ethics, esthetics, politics, art, even science—though to a less degree—the difficulty of defining terms, the uncertainty of aim, the faulty character of our sense perceptions, make the obstacles to rigorous thinking simply staggering.

In mathematics, where ideas are, comparatively speaking, susceptible of definition, and where sense testimony is reduced to a minimum, anyone who wants to think rigorously has some chance of being able to do it; and anyone who cannot think rigorously here is unlikely to be able to accomplish the feat under the more adverse conditions of everyday life. Under ordinary circumstances, therefore, the mathematician is as willing as anyone to jump from peak to peak in every intellectual process except the mathematical. He does not condemn this method of progression. What he does protest against is the common notion that there is an inherent opposition between his subject and the imaginative faculties.

He does more than protest. He insists that there is no field more stimulating to the imagination. Mathematics, it seems to him, is an intellectual fairyland, where every intellectual need is satisfied; there is beauty, harmony, highly generalized knowledge, an opportunity for the exercise of reason, unperturbed by the contradictions of sense, and, above all, there is the continual hint of an absolute perfection, which is extraordinarily inspiring whether it be regarded as having any objective reality or as being simply the creation of the human mind.

What perhaps the mathematician fails to appreciate in contemplating this Hesperian garden of thought is the fierceness of the dragon that guards it. The dragon is the technical vocabulary, the terribly repugnant symbolism by which mathematics keeps its secrets. To be candid, only in this language can the story be told properly. If accuracy is to be the first requisite, we must make use of this desiccated foreign tongue. But if the bigoted mathematician will lay aside a little of his exactitude, and the layman will relax a little of his inhibiting terror, a meeting of minds may yet take place.

Such a consummation is devoutly wished by all parties, it seems; not apparently from any selfish motives, but because each desires that those of the other side may gain the great illumination of

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Current Impressionism

IMPRESSIONISM in art is something more than a method of painting. Although intimately interwoven in its origin with discoveries in the physics of light, it became the dominant school of the last few decades through no mere chance coincidence of a Chevreul and a Monet. For impressionism has a broader significance and a truer one than is expressed in the technical formulae of its painter disciples, with their broken color tones, their purer palette, their interest in values, in luminous shadows and in vibrating light. Its principles have strongly marked the novel, the short story, the poem, the drama, the statue and the symphony. Its meaning and the causes for its ascendancy must be sought in the very character of the life which it so well reflects.

Impressionism as a technique is a means of recording the transitory nature of phenomena and the fluidity of motion. As a principle it is based on a philosophy of change. As painters, as writers, as musicians, impressionists are not so much men of strong convictions and deep words as they are craftsmen recording the flitting sensations of an ever changing world. The chief interest of impressionism is the ephemeral.

But this is not alone a description of the art of our times. It is the very essence of our lives. We move in an age of impressionistic living. All is atmosphere and movement. There are relatively few hard contours, all is a matter of environment. There are few fundamental bed-rock traditions or deeply rooted faiths. Most things are enveloped in the vibrating atmosphere of doubt—light, the rationalists call it. In our social life, in our industrial life, in our political and in our very religious life, all is change. In place of the old social castes we still have a constant shifting of social planes. The mechanic travels from city to city, from trade to trade. Creed follows creed, party follows party, and in the confused panorama of varying policies, a policy well drawn and classic in proportion is hardly to be expected.

To this mode of living and thinking, science, which through the industrial revolution had contributed so much to the building up of the new social order, now adds still further kaleidoscopic variety. The railroad, the telephone, the telegraph, the linotype machine, the steamship, the phonograph and "the movies," all contribute to the rush of changing impressions, to the bewildering multiplicity of effects. What time is there for revery, imagination or principle in the life of the numberless thrills each hour. His library is a storehouse of electric sensations and impressions. His very excursions and vacations are not given to idling or to play. They are arranged on compact tourist schedules. Torn between a thousand sensations he grows sensation-sated. To hold his interest the impressionist statesman, churchman, play producer, manufacturer, and publisher each vie with one another in providing new sensations and fresh thrills.

The dominance of impressionism in our art is the outcome of this life. The motive of this aesthetic creed is not expression or the search for beauty, it is curiosity. The interest of life is in each moment; of nature, in its slightest quivering tone; of humanity, in the least gesture of its meanest citizen. In landscape the play and constantly varying quality of light constitute its message. The special technique is merely the outcome of this vision. Form and line are lost in veils of atmosphere, vibration is suggested by the broken color tones of a spectrum palette, and luminosity by the pitch and color of the shadows. In figure painting, movement as well as the play of light is recorded. The clear-cut divinities of Poussin's "Arcadia" make way for the laundress, the barmaid, the jockey and the ballet dancer. In place of the old gods living in their classic world of static calm, restless moving throngs on balconies and busy boulevards now greet the vision of the art lover.

Your impressionist painter does not depict fundamental passions, death, love, hate, revenge or lust. He is anti-sentimental and opposed to the literary. He paints the passing moment, extolling its rapidly departing beauty. His workmen are not actors in the drama of toil refashioning the world. His peasants are not like Millet's, statuesque men spiritualized or brutalized by contact with a stubborn soil. They are moving color spots bathed in atmosphere. As the laundresses of Degas stand over their boards, they reveal the hitherto unobserved interest of a characteristic attitude; their wash reflects the cool light, their faces are free from sentiment. Renoir's boatmen are not heroes of the sea; they are bits of humanity as evanescent as the atmosphere. The queer little shove with which they launch their boats upon the water is noted with sensitive feeling for the fluid pose of the body. The figures flit across the artist's stage in much the same manner that wind plays through the meadows and light reflects from

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in which the hero is man, the conqueror death. Here the hero is light and the conqueror change. But the dramatic element must be added by the commentator. Impressionism is truly the product and expression of the spirit of its day. It is modern not because it depicts the *demi-mondaine* and the ballet girl, the factory and the railroad yard. It is modern because it is born of the new sensitiveness to the passing moment.

In literature the development and vogue of the short story is the product of impressionism, although the novel and the drama have been strongly influenced. Our journalism is almost all cheaply impressionistic; not principle but curiosity is the main motive; gossipy impressions of fleeting events, talky reviews of ephemeral books, an endless array of snapshots of people and places momentarily in the public eye. Our very criticism is impressionistic and without standards. Just as an impressionist painter wanders from effect to effect, so does the impressionist critic survey the new novel, drama or painting. It hath such and such an look to me, he tells us in a style more or less bantering; and the interest of the criticism lies quite obviously not in the convictions of the writer, but in the manner in which he records his own passing impressions. When serious thought expressed itself with academic pedantry, this new criticism entered with the same delightful charm as did the short story of Kipling into the land of Meredith. But the stale freshness of the reviewer tires one. There is a joy in an idea that can never be felt any more in the "fresh" statements of inconsequential nothings.

To-day there are those who look upon the entrenched principle of impressionism as an obstacle in the way of growth. They revolt against its tyranny. Impressionism is subject to decay by its own law, the law of change. The mental attitude which expressed itself in impressionism has lost its freshness. Although they once had a certain charm and brought a message of keener observation and more sensuous living, these gossipy notes no longer appeal. In painting, the "modern" movements in art were partly a reaction to the febrile note of impressionism. To the impressionistic insistence on atmosphere was opposed a new feeling for the architectonic, for the plastic form. There was an endeavor to free art from the restraint of formulae largely scientific and optic, so that it could express a fuller imaginative vision. The artist is not a sensitive physicist with a brush in his hand enslaved to a given palette; he is not a recorder of given values arising out of the chance tones of the moment. He need obey no laws but synthetic, controlled by decorative requirements or by expressive effectiveness and not by the "agreeable surprise" of accidental grouping.

Not only among these experimenters and searchers but even among the lay lovers of art the number is growing of those who are wearied by all the goodly gossips and their kind catering. This army of dissenters are no longer satisfied with impressionist portrayers of passing moments; they seek expressionists, depicters of the significant, less concerned with atmosphere than with the form, the more enduring substance, which it envelops. While it cannot be denied that change is the law of life and that for the artist there must be unending interest in the fleeting aspects of nature, art would grow in dignity, just as criticism, politics and journalism, just as life itself would, if it were less indiscriminately curious, a little more inclined to discover for itself the significant in the drift of the fleeting and the ephemeral.

Louis Weinberg.

More Federal Pensions

An ominous pause has come in Federal pension legislation. The high-water mark reached last year fell short this year about $15,000,000. The veterans of the Civil War are not so numerous, nor are their widows and dependents increasing at anything like the former rate. Old-age pensions and civil service pensions are approaching enactment slowly but surely. One bitter opponent in Congress of the iniquities and extravagances of the present political pension system, Martin Dies, of Texas, foresees socialism and government aid for all old and needy persons unless something is done. The "General Pension Staff," to use Charles Francis Adams' vivid phrase describing the pension lobby in Washington, must follow the soldiers of the sixties down to the cemetery and leave forever the fat and fertile fields surrounding the Pension Office, unless new ways of appropriating for military pensions, real or false, can be devised. Though the outcry against pension graft has for the moment been stilled, the graft is growing thinner and thinner. Does this cessation mean that the pension system has been reformed? Is the pause ominous for the General Pension Staff, or for the public welfare?

A Congress has just passed into merciful history with a record of no new general pension legislation. It appropriated, to be sure, in the neighborhood of $165,000,000 or $175,000,000 a year for pensions. It passed scores of special "private" pension bills giving doles to men

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tant, or nagging to deserve money. The only new general pension bill seriously pressed during the Sixty-third Congress succeeded in passing only the House, and died, mourned yet paradoxically full of life, on the calendar of the Senate. It is the failure of this bill that marks out this Congress above other Congresses. And it is the spark of vitality that persists in the bill, nursed by the pension lobby, that will certainly develop within another year into a fire so hot that the administration must use all its bravery and skill to put it out. The measure in question is the bill providing pensions for the widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the war with Spain and in the Philippine insurrection. The House, on April Fool's Day, 1914, agreed to this bill by two hundred and fifty-six to seventy-four, five voting "Present," and ninety-six not voting at all.

Thus the so-called Key bill has progressed to date. To prospective pensioners it is an attractive measure. It calls for twelve dollars a month pension for the widow of an honorably discharged soldier or sailor who served during the Spanish-American War and its consequent outbreaks, the pension to endure only during widowhood; each child under sixteen years of age would receive two dollars a month. Of course it is provided that the woman must have married the deceased veteran prior to the passage of the act, that she must be without other means of support than her daily labor, and that she must have an actual net income not exceeding $250 a year. Though the fact is not widely advertised, nevertheless it is true that a service of ninety days—including furloughs—is considered by the framers of the bill to make a man enough of a hero to justify Federal contributions to his widow and children. What this really means will be understood by even the casual observer of the whereabouts, activities and martial experience of the regular and volunteer troops which turned our thrashing of a decadent old-world power into a rather harmless summer holiday. The report of the committee recommending this bill says nothing about mortalities from embalmed beef and unsanitary camps. Rather it emphasizes the fact that it is fifteen years since the Spanish War, and this is the first request for legislation ever made by the organization of the United Spanish War Veterans. The unselfishness of the request commends itself, for these veterans ask absolutely nothing for themselves, but only provision for the helpless widows and orphans.

No student of the course of pension legislation will be deceived by such words as these, nor can it is an entering wedge to a dollar-a-day pension bill for all Spanish War veterans, like the famous and iniquitous dollar-a-day pension bill which was enacted just before President Taft ran for reelection, and which he refused to veto. "Women and children first!" is the order on board the ship of state when it is about to be wrecked on pensions. This is the first request of the United Spanish War Veterans. Grant it, and the second request, perhaps less reasonable, will be more difficult to refuse. Grant a couple of such requests, and the Treasury is split wide open with pension money within the grasp of every Congressman who wants it badly enough and who will intrigue for it ingeniously enough.

The arguments for the Key bill are sufficient to condemn it. Under the present law, declares the committee, a widow of the Spanish War is cared for if she can show that her husband's death was directly caused by disabilities incurred in the service. The committee maintains that in practice it has been found that it is "rarely practicable for her to gather the proofs"—and secure a pension. It is, above all, a measure framed and intended to render the gathering of pensions profitable with the minimum expenditure of effort. The first cost to the government, it is calculated, would be $2,500,000 a year, and "for some years" thereafter a steady annual increase. The Key bill will not fully fill the widening gap in the annual pension appropriations, but it may serve as a foundation for a dam which will turn the public money flooding again into pension channels.

From Washington recently there has come the news that, nothing disheartened by the failure of the Sixty-third Congress to enact the Key bill, the General Pension Staff has so well laid its plans for the future that it fully expects the Spanish War widows and children to be gratified in the spring of 1916. The lobbyist who conveyed this information to the press spoke with an assurance which could mean nothing if it did not mean that he knew what he was talking about. Such foreknowledge, of course, is not at all mysterious; the House will at any time repass the Key bill, and the Senate, being of the same political complexion as the House, and facing, together with the House and the President, a nation-wide campaign next spring in which the fate of the Democratic party is involved, will be unlikely to stand out against a modest two-and-a-half-million-dollar request from so powerful an institution as the pension interests. Just as poor Mr. Taft was confronted with the prospect of wide popularity with the unthinking if he signed the Sherwood bill, or with small though intense popularity with the thinking if he

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actly the same kind of dilemma one year hence. The weight of precedent will bend him toward obeying the will of the pensioners; the weight of the pitifully small and unorganized pension reform movement will bend him in the opposite direction; he will be more than human if he vetoes the bill and halts in its first march this new campaign of the pension grafters.

Many of the seventy-four members who in 1914 voted against the Key pension bill in the House heard from that vote during the Congressional campaign last autumn. Probably not one of that seventy-four was defeated solely because of his Nay vote, but certainly those Nays were not regarded or used as assets for the men who uttered them. With the greater tension of a Presidential year, with the sentimental backing of the Grand Army of the Republic, and with the assiduous circulation of stars-and-stripes literature referring to Old Glory, Remember the Maine, To Hell with Spain, bloodshed, liberty, and the rest, votes against this measure will be even more terrible ammunition in 1916 than they were in 1914. "I have no question whatever," writes to me the wielder of a trenchant pen in the cause of pension reform, "that the measure . . . will be brought forward immediately after the next Congress convenes, and will be pressed to its passage. The argument now is that owing to the natural decrease, through death, etc., of the existing pension roll, the 'government can afford to be liberal.' One hundred and sixty-five millions has been practically established as the pension limit, and it will always be claimed that the list should be increased as fast as any reduction occurs, keeping up to the limit named."

This, at a glance, is the present situation. Congress has learned no permanent lesson from the exposures of recent years. The public has not learned that Congress, being a non-continuing body, must continually be told what to do and what to avoid doing. Apparently we are nearer to establishing pensions for women and children remotely connected with men who enlisted—but who did not necessarily fight—in the Spanish War, than we are to establishing civil service pensions or social insurance. That this is true, notwithstanding the repeated demonstration of the simple business fact that national efficiency and economy demand a civil service retirement system, is only another mark of our inability as a nation to be businesslike. And that old age pensions and insurance are matters of scarcely academic status in Washington merely means that profound ignorance and shortsightedness prevail.

W. L. STODDARD.

A COMMUNICATION

How England Feels Toward Us

SIR: If there is some feeling of strain in the relations of England and the United States at the present time the fact should arouse no surprise. It might very well be more, and in the circumstances we could hardly hope it would be less. In the heat of battle it is not easy to take a detached and judicial view of another's case or to appreciate the niceties of neutrality. The difficulty applies to both sides. England finds itself plunged by the reckless ambition of Germany into a war that involves its freedom, and, as it believes, the freedom of the world, and not the old world alone. It is in the position of a man struggling in the water in a death wrestle with the foe who has chosen his moment to destroy him. His view may, in strict truth, be subject to qualifications. But the point is that he does not see them. He only sees the dread alternative of the situation—his life or mine. And he turns in his agony and sees on either bank neighbors calmly watching his death-grapple and preserving an air of cold impartiality; among them, one who speaks his own tongue, springs from his own soil, inherits his own great traditions of liberty. If in that moment he turns with impatience from the balancings of neutrality, even sees in them only a covert hostility, he can hardly be blamed. He wants help.

It is in that crude light that popular imagination sees United States by our control of the sea, and the re-

tions to the ultimate question—which of us do you want to survive? And when the popular voice of America sends back a message of sympathy, the fact only tends to add to the impatience with which the attitude of official neutrality is regarded. I speak, of course, only of the popular view; but it is in these moments that the popular view is of importance. The temper of the people is in times of crisis a governing factor in public policy, and it would be a fatal mistake to ignore those tidal waves which are apt to sweep the sand castles of diplomacy before them.

So far as informed opinion in this country is concerned, there is, I think, a widespread appreciation of the difficulties of the American position. We see that, without any part in the quarrels that have brought this calamity upon the world, the United States has been involved in the general ruin, that its commerce has been gravely stricken, and that its dependence upon European shipping has struck its overseas trade a very heavy blow. We realize that neutrality was the only possible policy for a country which, though speaking our language, has no political association with us and no part in our ententes, and whose very diverse population includes far more German-born people than people of British birth. We understand the seriousness of the problem raised for the

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the utmost regard for the liberties of others. Nor do we forget that the records of the past give us no special claim to consideration—that when the United States was engaged in a struggle not less vital to its existence than that of to-day is vital to ours, we preserved an official neutrality which was something more than cold.

Profoundly, therefore, as we feel that the ultimate interests of the United States are bound up with the success of the Allies, there is in no instructed quarter any sense that the United States has followed a course other than that dictated by its true obligations, not only to itself but to the world. Nor is there any doubt that in the difficult path it has been called upon to tread it has been motived by the single duty incumbent upon a neutral—that is, the duty of neutrality. We admitted the entire propriety of the action taken in regard to the right of search. In this matter the interests of the two countries are in sharp and inevitable conflict. It is our vital necessity to exercise to the utmost the power we possess to limit the resources of the enemy; it is the vital interest of the United States to have the utmost freedom from restrictions upon the flow of its trade. Here is a collision which can only be resolved by a clear perception on each side of the others' interests and rights, and by an honest desire to reach an accommodation on fair terms. Since our stake in the matter is not, like that of the United States, a matter of temporary wellbeing, but of national existence, it is clear that our capacity to yield is the more limited. But the point is that we recognize fully the duty as well as the interest of the United States to assert the right of neutral states to the free and, as far as is consistent with the legal rights of belligerents, the unobstructed use of the seas. There are those in this country, of course, who in Lowell's phrase regard the seas as our "back yard." Every country has its Prussians. But they do not represent any authoritative school of thought. We realize that our supremacy at sea is a trust as well as a necessity, and we admit that it is the duty of a great neutral state to guard vigilantly the liberties of the great highways of the earth.

It is not, in fact, the protest which the United States has made which has caused disquiet, even among those who are its most devoted friends. It is the protest which it has not made. There is a deep and growing feeling that the voice of America should have been raised on the subject of the grave breaches of the Hague Conventions which have been perpetrated by Germany. We have too sincere a respect for the wisdom and high purpose of President Wilson to doubt that his inaction in this respect is due to any but weighty and carefully considered reasons. But we cannot resist the feeling that a great opportunity for asserting the moral laws that should govern civilized society has been missed. There can, it is felt, be no question here of improper intervention. Even if etiquette were involved, the case is one in which the head of the great republic should brush etiquette aside. But the United States has a legal as well as a moral right to speak in this matter. Its signature stands to that body of international agreement which has been so ruthlessly invaded. It is the solemn covenant of the United States—a covenant guaranteeing the [illegible] record.

And it has been outraged without a word of protest, without so much as a request to Germany to give a reply to the allegations made against its conduct.

It may be said that this contrast between the protest that was made and the protest that was not made is to be explained on the ground that in the one case the United States was confronted with an internal problem, in the other with a European issue. But, certain though I am that President Wilson has what he believes to be sound grounds for the differentiation, I am no less certain that those grounds cannot stand against the overwhelming claims of moral duty and legal authority. In the midst of all the horrors of the past months the world has been listening for one great word of reprobation of the wrongs inflicted by the strong upon the weak. It has listened for one authoritative assertion of the moral law in a world given over to barbarism. It has listened in vain. International law has been trampled in blood and mire, and though its signature is upon that law, the voice of the United States is silent. In all the grief of this sad time I do not think there is any more poignant than this.

It would be useless to deny that this silence made a deep impression upon the mind of this country. "Look," it said, "America is dumb when the conventions she has signed are torn up, and hostages are shot, and collective penalties are exacted on miserable towns and villages, and unfortified places are bombarded, and hospital ships are attacked by submarines; but when the interests of her merchants are concerned, she finds her voice. It is not humanity that she cares about, but dollars." It is an old jibe, singularly reminiscent of that which was levelled against us in the time of the Civil War. It is not true, and no responsible body of opinion in this country believes it to be true. We know that there is no people on earth more responsive to the call of humanity than the American people, none more ready to make great sacrifices for noble and disinterested ends. Its history is its patent of nobility. But popular feeling, heated and unbalanced by the tremendous events and perils of the time, sees only the obvious. It hears America's protest against the manner in which we exercise a legal belligerent right, and side by side with that it notes her silence when her bond on behalf of humanity is torn to tatters. And it comes to a rough conclusion that is as unfortunate as it is unjust.

Happily the temper of the press, even of the normally jingo press, at this time is unusually restrained. With one or two notable exceptions, and these actuated rather by antipathy to Mr. Wilson's administration than by any other motive, there is a general disposition to recognize the difficulties of the course which the United States has to steer, and a real desire to avoid adding any bitterness to differences that must necessarily arise where interests are conflicting. That is the most favorable fact in the situation, and it gives the assurance that whatever controversies may arise, they will be approached on the part of every responsible influence in this country with the determination that the year which completes a century of peace between the two great English-speaking families shall not witness any incident unworthy of that splendid

A. G. GARDINER.

London, February 15th.

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the receipt in England of the text of the United States notes on the subject of Germany's "blockade" by submarine, and the use by England of the device of the neutral flag. Those notes have created an excellent impression on the public mind. They are at once firm, dignified and friendly, and they place the official attitude of the United States before the British public in a clearer light than has hitherto been the case. They show that while America is determined to keep a perfectly even keel in these troubled waters, she is jealously and properly concerned to prevent any infraction of neutral interests, and that any such infraction must take account of her serious opposition. The problem of her duty in regard to the infraction of international law, done at the expense of belligerents, is of course another and more delicate problem. But it remains to be faced. A. G. G.

CORRESPONDENCE

To Which We Reply

SIR: I read your diverting piece "Paul Kellogg Muckraked." I have no quarrel with what you say about Kellogg or about George Creel, who can speak for themselves.

But I do find myself in quite violent disagreement with what you say about the "slipshod" methods of the Industrial Relations Commission. I have been quite closely in touch with the methods of the Commission for some months. I have been in company with Frank Walsh at various times of great stress. I have never seen him "stung to fury." Especially it is unthinkable that he could be stung to fury by anything the quietly disposed Mr. Paul Kellogg could say about him.

I have always found him—to name a real and essential trait of his—quite ready to name things by their right name. His most useful quality at present is his "second wind," to use a sporting term. You know that after a man has been used up a bit in a fight and then has got his "second wind" there's no telling how long he may last. In Kansas City Walsh has had the "silence" treatment from the controlled press. Also he has had their direct fire for years. And he has emerged from it all with a mind pretty well made up and a skill at discerning motives that few others in our fighting era possess.

I have come into contact with quite a few men who have challenged our industrial overlords. Before I met Walsh I had generally seen such men shrivel up and wilt under the first baptism of editorial fire. Walsh spoke at an East Side forum—a public school forum, in a way to shake the fire down from the whole big Wall Street furnace. I went to his office while the newspapers raged. He had the stacks of clippings in front of him. He laughed over them quite heartily.

I expressed my surprise. "As if I didn't know what they'd do," was his cheerful comment. A letter arrived from a man who told how fervently he thanked God for such a man as Walsh—but how sadly he regretted his expected official demise. Walsh wrote him a brief reply asking him to kindly postpone regrets until after the doctor's verdict.

I personally have fairly itched to see Wilson throw Walsh out of official life. I would so much like to hurl all my power to agitate vital questions behind such a well equipped leader, and I would so much like to see an issue made in which all genuine progressives could jump to one standard and leave the brand you represent so well out of it. Then we would feel that we were on our way in some given direction.

Never mind about Paul Kellogg. Walsh made himself a bigger national figure over night than Kellogg could in a of charity writers, politicians, lobbyists, relief workers, and apologists who are his daily companions.

The important thing for THE NEW REPUBLIC to remember at this time is that the progressive cause was not born in Wall Street and it is not going to be interpreted by any chippy-chasing youngsters who have merely got a little tired of the utterly-utter stand-patism of their dads.

Ask Col. Nelson, the greatest editor in America, what he thinks of Walsh. I hear he'd go to war for him any day.

Ask the people who make less than five dollars a day what they think of him.

And if you ask me—I'll tell you how glad I am to see him come along thus early in your polluted and polluting career and make you fly your own flag, and speak up in a way to show the real source of your inspiration.

Most cordially if not respectfully,

ISAAC RUSSELL.

[EDITORS' NOTE.—Our correspondent is mistaken if he thinks that THE NEW REPUBLIC had any intention of joining the attack on Chairman Walsh. Mr. Walsh in our opinion is one of the best and most useful agitators of our time, and his service to the country is a very great one. We do not see, however, why such approval should compel us to surrender our right to criticize Mr. Walsh or to discriminate about his ability. He is chairman of a commission which has work of a scientific character, as well as of agitation, to perform. He has, in our opinion, done the agitation extremely well, the scientific work very badly. This is a great pity, because the immediate agitation, useful as it is, will be forgotten, whereas a really accurate and discerning investigation would be an enduring contribution to the industrial problem.

The rest of our correspondent's letter speaks for itself.]

Hitting the Right Man

SIR: I think the consensus of opinion the world over is squarely against the dropping of bombs on non-combatant people. But if I may venture a neutral thought of my own, I should say that there are possibilities that the fear of bomb throwing from air craft may prove the most important influence to prevent future wars. If experience in this war demonstrates that bombs can be successfully dropped on the Houses of Parliament or the Reichstag, or on the palace of king or emperor, or the modest residences of statesmen or diplomats, so as to endanger the life of any of the small group of men who really declare war, the whole course of diplomatic conversations will be changed and these polite gentlemen will find the way to a peaceful solution of their problems. Up

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have always had plenty of time to run to cover. Practically they never go to the front and are never exposed to serious danger. When your king or emperor or czar knows that his sacred person will be the first one sought for as a target and that he and his immediate loved ones will be in hourly danger of destruction from an unreachable enemy in the air, I predict that he and his devoted and eloquently patriotic ministers and diplomats and statesmen will develop a tenderness and solicitude for the common people that will cause them to fall on each other's necks in a very passion of sympathetic tears at the prospect of war.

ALFRED F. POTTS.

Indianapolis, Ind.

Neutrality's Other Side

SIR: In view of the sentiments of some of us on the subject of our "timid neutrality," the subjoined letter may interest your readers. Written by Benjamin Valloton, now in France, it appeared in the *Gazette de Lausanne* of January twenty-fourth, under the caption, "What They Say of Us." It voices the feeling of those Frenchmen who are dying, under the unspeakable conditions of this war, in order that not only France but freedom may live. They know this. But even the French soldier of freedom is human. In the lulls of butchery, the heart within him notes the strange silence of the mere spectators of the struggle which they, not he, will survive to profit by. And then he knows a moment of bitterness.

I leave it to your readers to infer what the "little French soldier" thinks of us—if he thinks of us at all. To-day we are so far away. Far indeed!

F. V. KEYS.

Geneva, Switzerland.

WHAT THEY SAY OF US.

Why seek to hide it? The soldiers of France as well as their officers speak of Switzerland in general with a certain bitterness. The reserved, distrustful attitude of German Switzerland grieves them. By way of proof here are a few of the things one hears said:

"Why the republicans, the democrats, the honest people, do not proclaim their indignation at the brutal violation of Belgium, that strikes us hard. . . . and yet we have done nothing to them! . . . It is pitiful, pitiful! . . . "

And let no one suppose that these are superficial comments. In France they follow closely the manifestations of our sympathy. As I naïvely expressed my astonishment while talking with an officer of the staff, at his exact knowledge of our affairs and of our people, he opened with a smile a drawer of his desk. There he had collected most of our newspapers, even to the local papers of German Switzerland, frequently marked with red or blue pencil.

"You see, we read what you say. Oh, with no ulterior intent. Obviously your sympathies are yours to bestow. They are not to be commanded. But we confess we do not understand. . . . Then it is true that some of your compatriots do not know modern France? . . . Have we sought this war? . . . Have we torn up treaties that were signed by us? . . . Do our Intellectuals make mountebanks of themselves? Do we announce to the world that God has enjoined us to swallow it up? England and France crushed [illegible] economically first, next politically . . . It is impossible not to see it. Well, then . . . "

"Nobody asked of you to go to war," said one of the wounded, "but a cry from the heart at the right moment. As for Belgium, it would have done her good—and you also. Some of your compatriots assert that it was no concern of yours, the violation of Belgium and Luxembourg. I beg your pardon; if somebody stabbed two of your brother neutrals and if he who stabs is precisely one of those who has guaranteed your own neutrality, it strikes me there is good reason to cry out officially, it is disgusting . . . It would have encouraged one, I assure you. When the Turks were massacring the Armenians, in one sense that did not concern any one either. And yet they protested.

And this cruel word:

"Remain neutral . . . there are times when it must make one feel rather uncomfortable. . . . For after all, Belgium is a graveyard. And if Paris had been where Lyons is, do you not think that there would have been some scorched timber in your country? . . . 'Necessity knows no law' was their word."

In the same way I recall a joyous dinner at Villars-Cotteret, in company with a dozen officers. Between the fruit and the cheese a captain gave the following little discourse, about as follows:

"Against the France of Louis XIV or Napoleon there was certainly something to be said. . . . We had then a wolfish appetite. . . . And afterwards we received blows; we reflected, we cried our little *mea culpa*. France of to-day has suffered too much to wish to make others suffer. We no longer love war for war's sake. If our men strike so hard, it is because they wish to spare the eyes of their children the foul spectacle that is called a battlefield. If at the test it is proved that it is against war that we fight, that we place justice above force, that we respect the rights of little nations—well! the sympathies of all good men will be ours. We must know how to deserve them. It shall be our coquetry. Here's to Switzerland! Here's to France, who will know how to make herself beloved from the Rhone to the Rhine! . . . And now let us come down from the heights."

One of the officers present out of an orange fashioned a head, placed it on a napkin, the napkin on a decanter; pulling the ends of the napkin, he made the orange perform a series of contortions and curves with the most amazing effect. A brigadier seated among the soldiers at the end of the table followed the play with lively interest.

"Well," suddenly remarked the captain, "you will probably be telling your journal that the French are not serious. Tell them at least that they form one big family, that one can see the troopers eating at the same table with the officers, and that it is because they are so lighthearted that they die so well."

A Toast to Principle

SIR: Apropos of your article, "Emerson's Feeling Toward Reform," I recall the doings of an acquaintance of mine. During the year he does not drink a drop; but annually on New Year's eve he takes down his Emerson, reads "The New England Reformers," then fills a silver thimble with Scotch whiskey and drinks it in a ceremonious manner—all of which he does, as he says, "to square himself with his principles."

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Behind the Scenes

The Show Shop, in four acts, by James Forbes. Presented at the Hudson Theatre, New York.

ON the program "The Show Shop" is airily described as "something about the stage." Out of kindness to those who are likely to suffer distress at this artful concealment, it may at once be admitted that there is no deep or unscrupulous reason for it. A comedy interpreted in a manner generously broad, or a farce full of honest comedic material, "The Show Shop" is of a species familiar in the American theatre. And of its species it is a thriving example. The only real mystery about "The Show Shop" is the theatrical mystery it rudely unveils.

In the Dark Ages—the dreary period when we were children and parental conversation suddenly ceased on our entry into the room—the world was full of hierarchical characters who surrounded their performances with mystery. Struggling over pothooks and hangers, we regarded with fearsome reverence the godlike being—usually a grocery clerk—who could write reams without a guiding hand. Our nose on a level with the prescription desk, we saw the mysterious "black draught" compounded from a cabalistic order, and we gazed with wonder on the swift hands that wrapt up the bottle and the lightning fingers that sealed the package with wax. Cured as we were by the little glass instrument that worked equally well in our mouths or under our arms, we knew nothing of its mighty significance. We moved in a humble world overcome by the transcendence of our elders—deities who walked on tight-ropes, who rode horseback, who swam in water, who put the brakes on the train, who caught fish with a string, who were pleased to lather and scrape their rough faces, who "did up" their hair, who could tell the direction of the wind, who "knew the clock."

We who pretended to know the clock long before we understood its real meaning, were utterly aware that we belonged to a different order of creation from the expert masterly order that smoked tobacco, kept us silent when it read its unintelligible Journals of Opinion, and, without any evidence of mortal ailment, had "breakfast in bed." It was in those Dark Ages, the Ages of bullied apprenticeship and formidable authority, that we built up the respect for Constitutional adherents, Federal judges, physicians, jugglers, fortune-tellers, aristocrats, fashionable hostesses, doormen, night clerks, priests, eugenic experts, dog-trainers, professors, undertakers, members of the Masonic Order, Knights of Pythias, Oddfellows, members of the Century Club, cubists, futurists, admirers of Schönberg, disciples of Freud, early patrons of the taxicab, and all the other classes that, by virtue of superior faculty, have had an initiation denied to our pedestrian selves.

But it is typical of the impertinent, intrusive, irreverent modern mind that, as soon as it gets a little knowledge, it proceeds to divest everything in sight of all that made obsequiousness possible. And the worst of it is the craven eagerness with which members of a given craft or mystery encourage this rationalistic spirit. Instead of keeping up the tradition of special endowment and inborn grace, they expose to the public the methods by which they arrive at a desired illusion. They actually expose the machinery. They exhibit the hand that pulls the leg.

It is to satisfy this sophistication that "The Show Shop" was written. But the curious thing about Mr. James ness, he practically says, this show business, and the people in it are no gods but human. To them it is work and you, the public, are being worked, but because it is human it is necessarily and thrillingly emotional. Like your own work, it has one aspect outside—the aspect of professional certitude, of artistic intention, of conventional decorum. But to the persons engaged in it it has another aspect altogether. It is their way of fulfilling ambition, of making a living, of satisfying their claims on life. Seen from in front, the play is a smooth unified surface, each part fitting next to each. Seen from behind, the surface is betrayed as nothing but the alignment of a number of diverse, rebellious, independent beams. There is a romance in the result to the spectator? Yes, but to the analyst another romance. How were beam ends aligned to produce the illusion of a surface? By what carpentry was this design conveyed? It is this inquiry, the inquiry of persons as much interested in the cause as in the effect, that impelled Mr. Forbes to dramatize the processes of "The Show Shop," regardless of the old reverential policy of keeping the mechanism of surfaces concealed.

What makes "The Show Shop" such excellent entertainment, however, is not its divulgence of theatrical method. It is the amusing and penetrating characterization of each of the persons connected with the show. The novelty "behind" is only the bait with which Mr. Forbes allures his audience. Once they swallow the bait, he holds them by exhibiting the genuine human nature of those whose business it is to play on human nature in front.

In satirizing Mrs. Dean, the resolute mother determined to put her daughter on Broadway, Mr. Forbes has developed a type of general, as against accidental, interest. Appreciated as she is by the initiated, she is also appreciable by the outsider. It is true that Miss Zelda Sears rather forces the note. The characterization is farcical. But, so plausible are her difficulties and so grim her resolution, the audience is kept constantly intrigued and delighted. The same amusement is procured by Mr. Douglas Fairbanks as Jerry Belden, a wealthy young American. He has staked "A Drop of Poison" for its Broadway production in the hope that, when it ignominiously fails, Mrs. Dean will despair of her daughter Bettina's future, and allow her to marry him. Since no one but himself and the manager knows the expected fate of the play, there is literally screaming humor in the dress rehearsal where Belden, as the star, acts like a wooden man. In his character as the lively commonplace youth Mr. Fairbanks gives one of those performances which are a triumph of American acting, while Mr. George Sidney is excellent as the rotund, money-minded manager. As Bettina, the promoted daughter, Miss Patricia Collinge is pretty, but decidedly too conventional. She spares us the twinkling run of the ingenue, but she is content to be vocally "cute."

The unexpected success of the imaginary play gives a chance for an amusing contrast between its anguished dress rehearsal and its exciting first performance; and also for an adroit last act. But ingenious though this is, it is the rich humor, the abounding sympathy, the pleasant satire and the perfect idiom of "The Show Shop" that make it so agreeable to hear and see. It is not because someone says, "Why worry, when you can be buried for $25?" that "The Show Shop" seems humorous. It is because the characters that say these things are really imagined; because Mr. Forbes, in lightly taking away the front from the stage, has exposed the warm humanity

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Books and Things

HOW does one set about writing the history of a literature? One way is to take any language you know and read its literature chronologically. Through absorbed eager hours, critically detached hours, hours of boredom, you accomplish your hellish purpose. But for your will to write you often wouldn't read, and yet you keep at it, your purpose growing. Excitedly you write of two authors between whom you have discovered hidden correspondencies. But for this discovery you would have had little to say of either. As you proceed you acquire momentum. Johnson's "Irene" does not stop you, nor "The Curse of Kehama." Before you have mastered your material you have learned to read, not without interest, anything out of which copy can be made. That is one way of preparing yourself to write the history of a literature. The other way is to have read the whole of it before the idea of writing its history entered your head. Neither way is ever followed. Literary historians have always read a good deal of their subject, and have never read it all, before resolving to write. Of Mr. Maurice Baring, whose "Outline of Russian Literature," published in the Home University Library by Messrs. Henry Holt & Company, I am about to read, it is safe to guess that his book will sound as if most of his reading had been done to amuse himself. Before beginning it, however, let me see what deposit a little reading of Russian authors has left in my head.

It was Russia leather, I believe, which taught me that such a country as Russia existed. To other leather it bore the same relation that guava jelly did to jellies of commoner sort. Then came stories of Siberia and of the steppes, and the story of the man who was pursued by a pack of wolves as he drove his sledge, and who saved himself by tossing his children, one after another, to the wolves. A large Russian match-box, picturing men and women in long clothes of splendor, arrived one day, and thenceforth sat on our library table and glowed. Out of such odds and ends Russia made itself inside my head —a Russia of far horizons you drove toward, endlessly, across yellow plains that were not quite flat; of bright lacquer-like peasants, bending to their tasks in forests and shadowed spots in villages; of winter days as cold as the ice-brook, when you reached the forest at nightfall, and heard howling all about you, and saw the hungry pack as you crossed open spaces of hard moonlight. The next morning you would be off again on your sledge, the forest left behind now, and drive all day toward the Volga, and all the next day and the next over creaking snow, days when there were no low winds, for a wonder, and the clouds, high up, seemed to go of themselves. Terrible to me, a little later, were the images made by such words as anarchist, nihilist, exile, the knout. I never quite believed the things they stood for existed in the older Russia I seemed always to have known.

Since those early days the Russia inside my head has changed several times, but it is always the work of chance. The lean wolves are not less lean, but they have withdrawn from the center of the picture, and young children are no longer their staple food. Russians exist whose days are not all passed in sledges or exile, who have other occupations than bomb-throwing or sternest repression of revolt. For a while I saw them as men who dreamed their lives away, who hoped and felt and couldn't make the earth all night by the open fire, making believe he was asleep, listening while the boys talked, listening to old superstitions refreshed by youngest believers. From time to time he heard the feet of the horses the boys were keeping in that vast meadow. Or he smelled the earth at daybreak, smelled the seasons, heard at the end of winter the sound of waters released on a night of sudden Russian spring—springs as sudden and beautiful as the decisions made by Russian women in love. Women to whom love says, "Who chooses me must give and hazard all he hath," and who do not hesitate. Men who feel deeply, whose indecision leads them to act like tepid souls, and who are not tepid, who always remember, in bitterness, impotently.

A little later Russia began to change fast. It contained more kinds of men and women than I had been able to see in my real world, more kinds than any novelist I knew had seen in his. They were seen more directly. The same unobstructed gaze was turned toward their appearance, their gestures, their sensations of heat and cold, their shyest motives, their illusions, their most experienced thought. You felt the confusion of crowds, of battles, as you feel things here and now. Love's birth and growth and decline were laid bare with a clearness that was not unreal. The greatest novelist in the world, you would have said, if only his seekers after truth had not found what they sought. He made all other novelists, even the other Russian, sound arranged. Next came strangest of all, the master of hallucination, in comparison with whose intensity your own life seems unrealized, unlived. His fevered, tortured, life-twisted creatures, upon whom their creator spends his incomparable treasure of pity and love, obsess you as you were never obsessed by yourself. When you emerge again into your own world you are aware, for awhile, that its sounds come muffled, that you touch it with numb fingers.

After writing this I realize that a grown man, exposed in childhood and youth to our educational system, should have a less scrappy and less deformed notion of Russian literature. I also realize too late that I have given myself away. "No equally enlightening history of Russian literature exists in anything like the same space in English." "One of the most readable and first-hand volumes in a readable and first-hand series." Sentences like these form themselves now, when I have just read Mr. Baring's book. Only by an effort of reflection do I perceive that I have no right to such opinions. Somewhere on this continent, however, there must be readers whose acquaintance with Russian literature is about as extensive as mine. For their benefit I may say that Mr. Baring will give them a keen desire to better this acquaintance. He has many enthusiasms. He makes his subject interesting. His superlatives do not destroy your confidence in his guiding. He will take you where you want to go. He hasn't, I should guess, that special knack which we magnify by calling it "the critical faculty." But he convinces me that of the great Russians I know by name only, or have never heard of, there are many whose books I should like to begin reading to-day. He enables me to distinguish among his enthusiasms, to feel confident that I should like Krylov and Serge Aksakov, and that Lermontov would always be on my blind side. When another edition of Mr. Baring's book is published, why shouldn't he include a bibliography? This would be useful to readers who know no Russian, and who would like to be told of the better translations

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A French Casuist

Le Démon de Midi, by Paul Bourget. Paris, Plon-Nourrit.

"VIENT de paraître"—how do the Paris book stalls look without these words written large in black and pink across a row of yellow covers? One has to go back to July for the latest French fiction, to Bourget's "Le Démon de Midi," a long psychological novel that had much factitious advertisement just before the war because of its citation at the trial of Madame Caillaux. Though the author calls it a "novel of ideas," its plot, like that in which the shady Caillauxs were involved, hangs on the publication of the love-letters of a public man, and ends with a spectacular murder. The *coup de théâtre* which this coincidence enabled Madame Caillaux's lawyer to arrange in court for the confusion of the *doyen* of French reactionary novelists, is now neither here nor there. As a matter of fact the book, far less rapidly and firmly constructed than most of M. Bourget's novels, will not add to his reputation, though it combines the chief themes of his earlier and later period—the obsession of love, and Roman Catholicism.

"Can high religious certitudes exist side by side in a public man with the worst disorders of passion?" Bourget puts the question in the preface to this "study of religious psychology" which has become, on the road, a study of the sentimental crisis, the *daemonium meridianum* of the psalmist lying in wait for men in the middle forties. English readers will think of "The Dark Flower." André Savignan is not, like Galsworthy's hero, an artist, but a Catholic historian of weight and distinction, a widower wholly devoted to his ideas and his darling son of twenty. In the first chapter we find him chosen by the political Catholic powers to stand as deputy from Auvergne. His local backer is one Calvières, a vulgar radical-socialist millionaire manufacturer turned traitor to his former associates, and Calvières—here appears the theme which Bourget, probably because of his long specialization, never fails to make real and pathetically compelling—has the delicate, luxurious, unhappy, aristocratic wife whom we have often met before in his pages. Geneviève de Soleac and Savignan were secretly engaged in their youth; when they meet again beside a mountain lake the inevitable happens, bringing Savignan to the *cas de conscience,* the psychological struggle in which Bourget's analytical powers delight.

Religion or love, Jacques or Geneviève? The former, utterly worshipful of his father, as French sons are in novels of the conservative school, is nevertheless dangerously under the influence of the abbé Fauchon, an excommunicated modernist whose revival of primitive church ceremonies and practices gives Bourget a target for orthodox polemics. Jacques can only be saved, it seems, by a public refutation of Fauchon's heresies from his father's pen, an attack that comes with dubious force from a man not himself living as the Church commands. The process of self-deception which leads Savignan to write the article is admirably analyzed, but the violent scenes that follow are pure melodrama; and when the accidental death of Jacques—a mystical sacrifice of innocent blood—results in the instant conversion of all the characters, the lay mind is indeed in a state of protest. Even the fanatical Fauchon, the one vigorous personality in the book, turns Trappist without a murmur; his wife—for he had taken the girl Jacques loved to wife—returns, a sadder and a wiser woman, to her family; Geneviève goes back to the impossible Calvières; Savignan is punished by the loss not only of his in the disguise of Don Beyle the Jesuit politician, in the pulpit: "There is much to be learned from this story. . . . Its teaching is that we must live as we think, or else, sooner or later, we shall end by thinking as we have lived."

No New Englander can take exception to these sentiments, but when I put down the book I feel as I do on coming out into the rich incoherence of the streets from a play in which Lavedan or Bataille has held my intelligence and attention in a vise. "By a habit dear to those of his race he fabricated a system of ideas which he took for an explanation"; it is easy to convict Bourget out of his own mouth. Who could read "Le Démon de Midi," or even a logical masterpiece like "Le Disciple," a second time except to hunt for flaws in the reasoning and study the formula by which it is constructed? This balanced, lucid Latin formula is more playwright's than novelist's, as the novel is understood in English. It deals less in life than in "situation," more in action than in speech; and one almost regrets that Bourget discovered it at the beginning of his career. For it has served him too well, prevented him from seeing men and women as they are, or writing, these many years, a pregnant sentence or a page without a "purpose." The creatures built up from the substance of his thought about a preconceived crisis, and dissected again with a keen cold psychological blade such as only Mr. Henry James wields in our literature, have little interest apart from the sociological or religious ideas for which they stand, and the tense dramatic problem in which they are concerned. When this is solved they wither like pricked balloons. They are never quickened for the reader's memory by an inevitable creative touch of character.

Souls and minds, not characters, have interested Bourget from the beginning. His first important book was the "Essais de Psychologie Contemporaine," which summed up with a sympathy and delicacy of understanding very far from his present reprobating dogmatism the soul of the Second Empire, the dilettante, destructive, pessimistic generation of Renan and Baudelaire which had moulded his own youth. The worldly novels, that soon afterwards made his great early success, "l'Irréparable," "Cruelle Enigme," and the rest, are touched with the charm and exoticism of this generation. If he was a traditionalist in those days it was for temperamental reasons. He loved the aristocratic world slowly dying behind the great gray doors and cobbled courts of St. Germain, he loved Italy and the Riviera, and on the wave of reaction from naturalism made these *milieux,* the elegant women and hothouse passions they fostered, popular in France and even in America—especially after he crossed the Atlantic to write of us in "Outre-Mer." When I see a fellow countryman just arrived in Paris looking suspiciously after a slim-waisted French gentleman in high hat and gardenia who hurries past with a preoccupied air, or a pretty lady wrapped in furs who spins by in a taxi in the twilight, I put his obvious deductions down to the account of those earlier yellow-backs of Bourget's.

Bourget was even then piquing himself on being a specialist in souls, an anatomist, a physician who dissects the ills of society; but he was not yet the moralist he has since become. "Le Disciple," a powerful arraignment of the scientific point of view, marked in 1889 the beginning of the change. Ten years later, when, after the Dreyfus affair, Barrès and Maurras and Lemaître were demanding a reconstruction of France on the old lines, an end of dilettantism and beginning of energy, Bourget too came out solemnly as the protagonist of the *ancien régime,* the anti-democrat and "converted" Romanist we know in "l'Etape."

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and "Le Tribun." The sincerity of his intellectual conviction is undoubted, and it is strange that he has not succeeded in making it more persuasive. Is this because he persists in seeing himself in the rôle of the writer without a thesis, in struggling to keep the critical dispassion of Sainte Beuve, Stendhal and his other early masters instead of frankly turning his *parti-pris* to the best account? There is something half touching, half comic in the long prefaces to his later works; in one sentence the author describes himself as an objective biologist patiently eliminating himself before the fact disclosed by his microscope, in the next betrays that he sees nothing on the slide, but what is projected is by his own eye. That is why, to those who cannot accept his premises, a play like "la Barricade" brings so much less "documentary" conviction than, for instance, Galsworthy's "Strife."

In the religious revival of modern France Bourget occupies a grave and important place, though there, too, he is nowadays more respected than loved. Among Catholic novelists René Bazin makes a more gracious appeal, and even Henry Bordeaux, Bourget's legitimate successor, is stealing his popularity with the bourgeois by applying his master's formula to family life instead of to illicit love, and seasoning it with a dash of the *lachrymae rerum*. As for the virile young Catholics, the moulders of the France of the future, to whom Bourget has been earnestly addressing himself ever since "Le Disciple," they prefer to get their ideas directly from the more powerful Maurras or the more subtle Barrès. I can hear them, as they put down "Le Démon de Midi," saying that in Savignan's place they would have felt no *cas de conscience*. Bourget's tormented heroes and his clinging, luxurious heroines seem already to belong to a France that is dead. Touching his religious criticism one need only turn to Bourget himself: "The most convinced controversalists are never very sagacious critics."

ELIZABETH SHEPLEY SERGEANT.

Child Welfare

Problems of Child Welfare, by George B. Mangold. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2.00.

IT would be easy for an author to throw together a volume of dramatic paragraphs entitled "Problems of Child Welfare," and it would be easy for the reader to skim through it. Such an effort would be popular, for there is much interest to-day in "child welfare"—whatever that may mean; but such was not the task which George B. Mangold, director of the St. Louis School of Civics, set before himself and his readers. He preferred to take the subject seriously and to make his readers do the same. Therefore through more than five hundred closely written pages he compels the earnest student to follow, not through the eloquence or dramatic treatment he gives the subject, but by sheer force of evidence, argument and exhortation.

The book is designed especially for the university class room and for schools of social service, but it is adapted to a wider service. Thousands of interested volunteers, who combine their enthusiasm with the technical training of the professional social worker, have here a fund of information not, to our knowledge, elsewhere compiled. Every city government, every state and local board of health, every reformatory and juvenile court, every school-teacher, woman's club leader and religious society should have this mine of information on the ready reference table. Training and Education; IV, Child Labor; V, Juvenile Delinquency; VI, Problems of Dependent Children.

Each topic is discussed with thoroughness and patience. The author's self-control in dealing with causes of infant mortality, child labor and juvenile delinquency prove him the scientific student rather than the propagandist. He explains with careful detail how to feed and rear babies; how to improve the human stock; how to organize health agencies in city or country.

We are slow to recover from the fatalisms of centuries in regard to child protection, and the consolations of religion are still popularly offered to those who, through social neglect, are robbed of their children through contagion or digestive disorders. To put the matter in plain terms, we are still complacently discussing the question, as though it were perplexing, "When shall we kill the baby?" There may be—doubtless are—obscure factors in the problem, but they are so unimportant in comparison with what is obvious that we can hardly excuse delay. Impure water and dirty milk, meagre wages and the crowded tenement, the wage-earning mother and necessary neglect, are the prize reapers before whose unerring stroke this tender harvest falls. Let the author speak: "Infant mortality in our slum sections and industrial centers is more than twice as large as that of residential towns." "The industrial cities of Lowell and Fall River are the only American cities of more than 100,000 population which in 1911 reported an infant death rate of more than 200 per 1000 of the population under one year of age." "The number of deaths from diarrhoeal diseases in industrial sections is appalling, and must be definitely attributed to gross neglect of the children by their hard-working parents." As contrasted with certain European countries our record is good, but that is only another way of saying that we are putting a bridle on poison, penury and parental neglect. We have not undertaken to destroy any one of them, and we are quite ready to prove our courage by declaring war upon anyone who claims they can be destroyed. A recent estimate by Professor Irving Fisher of Yale declares us guilty of approximately 200,000 preventable deaths of children each year.

The development of agencies for recreation, the elimination of illiteracy, prevention of child labor by the exclusion of the untrained children from industry and the development of proper industrial training in our schools are ably discussed.

It is interesting, as an answer to those cotton manufacturers who have heralded the mill as the only salvation of the ignorant Southern mountaineer, to read that while the total illiteracy of native whites above ten years of age is 8.2 per cent in Virginia, in the mills the working children, fourteen to sixteen years of age, are 57.0 per cent illiterate. In Georgia the figures are eight per cent for the whole, 28.2 per cent for the mill children; in Alabama 10.1 per cent for the whole, 46.5 per cent for mill children.

Clearly the Federal Government cannot afford to leave to the several states—often controlled by a small group of shrewd business manipulators—the protection of children. While Congress is debating whether it is empowered to afford such protection, word reaches us that the glass industry of West Virginia has decided that no state law shall be allowed to deprive them of little boys to work all night in the glass houses; and a powerful lobby of cotton manufacturers in Alabama has slated for the morgue a bill to forbid employment of twelve-year-old girls for a

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four years faithful to her state motto—"Here we rest"—sitting on the bent shoulders of her little child laborers.

The minimum wage, problems of juvenile delinquency, dependence, mother's pensions, and day nurseries are discussed with the same exhaustive thoroughness.

If social workers will heed the author's demand for an economic basis for social reform they will proceed on surer ground. We have too little cross-fertilization between political economy and social reform. The result is sterile and abstract economics on the one hand, and on the other a prolific progeny of ill-formed and defective social legislation doomed to useless life or to an early death. We are constrained to offer one criticism on style. We may pardon an author absorbed in his subject for superfluous words and awkward sentences, but how can the publisher be pardoned for a score of unnecessary "the's" and "which's" on every page, and a "mooted" question which tops one of the most careless? An extensive, well-classified bibliography completes the volume for the practical use of students.

Class Struggle in Education

School Discipline, by William Chandler Bagley, Director of School of Education, University of Illinois. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.10 net.

FROM reading Mr. Bagley I come with mingled feelings of sadness and alarm—sadness because he has made me realize that I have never lived in the real world, and alarm because he unconsciously conjures up a picture of thousands of very young, well-intentioned maidens and youths forming gravely and conscientiously from books like this the whole framework of their ideas of what children are like, of the technique of teaching, and of the values and ideals of what Mr. Bagley calls the "educative process." While some of us are dallying with Freud and Jung, Dewey and Mme. Montessori, and raging idealists like Edmond Holmes, Mr. Bagley is professor of education in the University of Illinois, on the job day and night, industriously turning out text-books for teachers which set the pace, standardize the output, provide the rule-stick for no one knows how many of that new hundred thousand of young teachers whom the capacious maw of our public school system swallows every year.

Mr. Bagley's book is pretty free from either cant or padding, and is therefore of a type that is all the more dangerous. His is the hard, direct language of a practical man, who lives in a world of ignorant and shady school-boards where teachers get their positions through personal or political pull, a world of juvenile criminals, saloons, reform schools, prisons and labor disturbances, a world where "an educational system that would differentiate individuals in any wide measure would be socially disastrous." "School discipline" would be the means by which this social disaster of individual expressiveness would be avoided.

Mr. Bagley, in other words, is the frank protagonist of the class struggle in education. All through his book runs the thinly disguised implication that the unruly school is only a symptom of a larger unruly society. He quotes approvingly from the *Journal of Education* a passage which cannot be too thoroughly pondered. In commenting on recent suicides of women teachers because of their difficulty in disciplining unruly classes, this editorial says: "There is no denying the fact that there is the same bumptiousness church, is present with boys and girls. It is a common event for men in business or in politics to commit suicide because they cannot deal with men as of old. Teachers are sure to pay the 'high price' of the times in which we live."

Was there ever a franker recognition of that stubborn revolt against all the variegated forms of absolutism which smoulders and often flames in our slowly democratizing America to-day? Men cannot be dealt with as of old, and they who try to deal must pay the price. There is no suggestion that there is anything the matter with the forms, that they should be examined and the screws loosened, and an overhauling of the machinery undertaken. Those who pay the price in meeting this new indomitable resistance of men and children against being turned into machines must go bravely to their death as martyrs in a cause.

I am perhaps unjust to Mr. Bagley. He is not quite so raw. His class struggle would be a decently domesticated one, with the conflict controlled, everything nicely in hand. His ideal is the orderly school, the "well-disciplined" school, just as the employer's ideal is the strikeless factory. But Mr. Bagley is almost Marxian in his emphasis on the "authority" of the teacher, in his sense of the institutional divergence of interests and functions between "teacher" as one sociological institution and "pupil" as another. The young teacher, breaking her heart over her lack of personal control of her class, is cautioned to remember that their mutiny is not against her but against the "school," and is therefore to be dealt with by institutional means. No one is to be allowed to forget the inherent class inferiority of the child, not only as an intellectual, but as a human being. This theory of the spiritual and rational integrity of the adult is perhaps the worst fallacy in education. And to consider the child as a very defective and irresponsible adult instead of the adult as a very imperfectly matured and usually damaged child, is one of the silliest of the illusions to which orthodox education is prone.

There may be something exhilarating in the class struggle conducted on the industrial field between class-conscious labor and entrenched capital. But unwittingly to reproduce the class struggle in the world of growing, learning children is to bruise incurably the sensitive, unsophisticated, intensely personal reactions, and permanently warp their values. Only a heavy toll of wrecked teachers and futile children, cowed or mutinous, can be the result.

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The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

ANALYSIS of the Popular Vote on Constitutional and Legislative Proposals in the General Election of 1914

Saturday, March 6, 1915
Vol. II No. 18
Part Two

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the fabric of the American political system, it may degenerate into a lifeless and embarrassing survival.

No one can prove that direct popular government in this country is or is not on the wane. Anticipations as to the extent of its adoption in the future will be determined very largely by convictions of its intrinsic value. If we believe that direct legislation has no roots in the history of the American political institutions and no essential function to perform in a democratic representative system, the recent popularity of the initiative and referendum will seem like an ephemeral aberration. But if a larger participation by the electorate in the actual work of government is considered to be, as it very well may, the natural consummation of three generations of state political development, the subsidence of the agitation in its favor is bound to be regarded as only a temporary check. And a conviction to this effect would be very much strengthened in case one believed that a measure of direct popular government were necessary to the vitality of a thoroughly democratic political system and to the wholesome popularization of a program of social legislation.

Such is indeed our own opinion. Our belief in direct government is derived from our faith in political democracy. Under modern social and economic conditions political democracy will not work unless it rests on a foundation of direct popular government. This approval of direct legislation is not equivalent, as so many critics of the "I. & R." have assumed, to a belief in the doctrine of an all-devouring popular sovereignty. It is based upon essentially practical considerations. The exercise within definite limits of direct legislative functions by the electorate is indispensable to the safety, the balance and the power of self-improvement of a modern social democracy.

A measure of direct government is necessary in order to bring home to the people the extent and importance of their ultimate political responsibility. Under an essentially representative system, such as that of English parliamentary government, the effective political power and responsibility is delegated by the electorate to the legislature. Under an essentially legalistic system, such as that of our Federal Constitution, effective political responsibility is entrusted by the electorate to a supposedly adequate and righteous body of law. Some such delegation of power by the electorate to a comparatively permanent body of law and to legislative and administrative representatives is indispensable, but in the case of the English and American Federal systems it has been carried too far. The sense of popular political responsibility and the ability to use popular political power wisely is strengthened less by the delegation of authority than by its exercise. The electorate must learn how to govern chiefly by virtue of its participation in the work of government.

The conclusive argument in favor of direct government is consequently

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educational. The conclusive objection to a representative or legalistic system which does not place occasional responsibility for important legislative decisions on the electorate is its dubious educational effect. A democracy is not educated up to the level of its responsibilities by decisions made by its representatives, or by principles of "legal morals" established by its forebears, or by the power of vetoing unjust legislation conferred on judges. Undoubtedly an efficient representative system and regular constitutional forms are as essential to the collective political education of a democracy as is a certain measure of direct government. But if a political democracy is to learn its business it must participate directly in the transaction of its business. It must supplement its representative institutions and its constitutional forms with some method of direct political action, which will bring home to the people a sufficient sense of the stern reality of their ultimate political responsibility.

Direct government should not, however, be adopted in an inflexible and dogmatic spirit. Democrats can afford to leave to their opponents any advantage which may be derived from the possession of political principles which are so completely true that they demand nothing less than unquestioning acquiescence. The initiative and the referendum are merely specific methods which are being tried in order to assist the fulfillment of certain democratic purposes. If democracy is to survive, these purposes must be measurably fulfilled; but there is nothing sacred about any particular method of seeking their fulfillment. Various plans must be tried and their success appraised. It is a matter for patient experimentation and for disinterested and careful scrutiny of results. In the following paper the results of direct popular government for one year are analyzed and studied; and if our present plans are carried out, the study will be repeated in the future whenever the results of further experience are available.

THE EDITORS.

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ANALYSIS OF THE POPULAR VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS IN THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1914

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

REFERENDUM elections are not spectacular. In fact they are frequently quite dull. And so no flaming headlines announced last November that seven million people, scattered through thirty-one states, were voting upon two hundred and eighty-six constitutional and legislative measures. This election was an expression of popular will quite without parallel. It presented both extremes of the direct legislation movement and all the degrees between. In the number of measures voted upon and in geographical extent it ranged from a single statute in Maine to California's medley of forty-eight proposals. It took place in every kind of political atmosphere: the "solidity" of the South, the partisan reactions of Wisconsin and Ohio, progressivism and woman suffrage in the far West. It covered in subject matter everything from the regulation of a dog-tax to state-wide prohibition. In the degree of popular interest elicited it ran from fourteen per cent of those voting for candidates in Georgia to one hundred and four per cent in Washington. Every mechanism for giving expression to the voter's will was employed, from the cautious advisory referendum by which the people of Vermont help their legislators to make up their minds, to the untrammeled initiative and referendum of Oregon. The "dangers of minority rule" were glaringly apparent in Georgia, where nine and a half per cent of the voters amended the constitution to create Barrows county. In Minnesota, on the other hand, the old-fashioned constitutional strait-jacket which requires that a proposal in order to be adopted must receive a majority of all the votes cast in the election, prevented the success of an initiative and referendum amendment which was approved by a majority of four to one, sixty-one per cent of the total vote having been cast on it.* The temper of the people caused the adoption of every measure in some states, and in others the rejection of every measure. It would be strange if such an election did not arouse the interest even of those who have been indifferent to the progress and problems of direct legislation.

The accompanying map affords a panoramic view of the whole election, and shows the unanimity with which the states participated. Even the Southern states picked out the year 1914 in which to do their constitu-

*In Minnesota, Oklahoma and Wyoming it is necessary in order to carry a measure that a majority of all the votes cast in the election be cast for it. In Oklahoma, however, this rule applies only to initiated measures.

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tional tinkering, although the trivial and perfunctory character of most of the sixty-one measures submitted proves that the forces of progressivism have made no serious campaign south of the Mason and Dixon Line. It is, of course, natural that the most fertile source of proposals should be the initiative and referendum states.† Here there are three ways of getting a measure on the ballot—submission by the legislature, the initiative and the referendum. Here, moreover, popular law-making has become something of a habit, for it is not with the "weary voters" of these states that ex-President Taft sympathizes as they "tramp frequently to the polls in a struggle for incessant changes in the laws." These fourteen states met all possible expectations by the generous contribution of one hundred and seventy-seven proposals. One hundred and fifty-two of these came from the same states which submitted one hundred and twenty-one measures to the people in the general election two years ago, showing a net increase of twenty-five per cent. With the single exception of the Middle Atlantic group, however, every section of the country was represented in the list of thirty-one states in which a referendum ballot was presented to the voter.

Now who is responsible? Is the legislature unloading its work on the people or are the people usurping the functions of the legislature? These are very significant questions to ask regarding direct legislation, for the critics of the system urge that its whole tendency is to destroy representative government and to emasculate the legislature. The accompanying table casts some light upon this matter by showing the origin of the measures.

ORIGIN OF PROPOSALS

		Amendments		Statutes			Total
		Init'v.	Legis.	Init'v.	Ref'd'm.	Legis.	
I. & R. States.	Ariz.	5	....	10	4	....	19
	Cal.	8	22	9	4	5	48
	Col.	5	3	3	5	....	16
	Me.	....	....	....	1	....	1
	Mich.	1	3	....	....	....	4
	Mo.	3	8	....	4	....	15
	Mont.	....	2	3	1	....	6
	Neb.	1	3	....	3	....	7
	Nev.	....	2	....	....	....	2
	Ohio	4	....	....	....	....	4
	Okla.	4	....	....	....	....	4
	Ore.	10	8	9	....	2	29
	S. D.	....	8	....	3	1	12
	Wash.	....	1	7	2	....	10
		41	60	41	27	8	177

†The states having direct legislation in November, 1914, were Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington. The results of the special referendum election held in Arkansas in September, 1914, are not considered in this discussion.

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Origin of Proposals Continued

		Amendments		Statutes		Total
		Init'v.	Legis.	Init'v.	Ref'd'm. Legis.	
States Not Having I. & R.	Fla.	....	3	....	....	3
	Ga.	....	9	....	....	9
	Idaho	....	3	....	....	3
	Ind.	....	....	....	 2	2
	Kans.	....	2	....	....	2
	La.	....	17	....	....	17
	Mass.	....	....	....	 4	4
	Minn.	....	11	....	....	11
	Miss.	....	9	....	....	9
	N. M.	....	3	....	....	3
	N. C.	....	10	....	....	10
	N. D.	....	7	....	....	7
	S. C.	....	10	....	....	10
	Tex.	....	3	....	....	3
	Vt.	....	....	....	 2	2
	Wis.	....	10	....	....	10
	Wyo.	....	4	....	....	4
		....	101	....	 8	109
	Grand totals	41	161	41	27 16	286

I. and R. States	1912	1914
Submitted by legislature	27	68
Submitted by people	94	109
Percentage submitted by people	77%	61%

It appears that roughly two-thirds of the proposals voted upon in the direct legislation states were placed upon the ballot through initiative or referendum petitions. It will also be seen that this represents a slightly smaller proportion of measures of popular origin than in 1912. Thus, while the responsibility for the propositions presented still rests mainly with the people, the legislature may lay claim to some share, perhaps an increasingly important share, of that responsibility.

The result of the voting on the measures submitted to the people last fall was unexpected and devastating. The scope and degree of this reaction appears in the accompanying table:

RESULTS OF VOTE

		No. Meas.	Adop.	Rej.	% Rej.
I. & R. States.	Ariz.	19	9	10	52.6
	Cal.	48	27	21	43.7
	Col.	16	4	12	75.
	Me.	1	1	....	....
	Mich.	4	1	3	75.
	Mo.	15	....	15	100.
	Mont.	6	2	4	66.6
	Neb.	7	4	3	43.
	Nev.	2	2	....	....
	Ohio	4	1	3	75.
	Okla.	4	....	4	100.
	Ore.	29	4	25	86.2
	S. D.	12	1	11	91.6
	Wash.	10	2	8	80.
		177	58	119	67.2

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Results of Vote Continued		No. Meas.	Adop.	Rej.	% Rej.
States Not Having I. & R.	Fla.	3	3	....	....
	Ga.	9	9	....	....
	Idaho	3	....	3	100.
	Ind.	2	....	2	100.
	Kans.	2	1	1	50.
	La.	17	14	3	17.6
	Mass.	4	4	....	....
	Minn.	11	1	10	90.9
	Miss.	9	8	1	11.1
	N. M.	3	3	....	....
	N. C.	10	....	10	100.
	N. D.	7	6	1	14.3
	S. C.	10	10	....	....
	Tex.	3	....	3	100.
	Vt.	2	2	....	....
	Wis.	10	....	10	100.
	Wyo.	4	1	3	75.
		109	62	47	43.1
Grand totals		286	120	166	58.

Leaving out of account measures of local significance or very minor importance, and making allowance for the proposals which failed in Minnesota, Oklahoma and Wyoming, in spite of favorable majorities* a fair sixty per cent of all measures were defeated. It is interesting to note that the group of states not having the initiative and referendum rejected forty-three and one-tenth per cent of all the measures submitted to them, while the direct legislation states themselves, where the spirit of change has heretofore seemed more or less resistless, rejected sixty-seven per cent.

A considerable number of all the proposals submitted to the people may fairly be called progressive. At least, so they would seem to the casual observer, and therefore to the voter. This is using the word progressive quite without partisan connotation, to include those proposals which, in the opinion of their particular proponents or of mankind at large, aim at the betterment of society, morally, politically, economically or socially.

PROGRESSIVE MEASURES BY CLASSIFICATION

POLITICAL			
Calling constitutional convention	Cal.	Leg. Stat.	Rej.
	Ind.	Leg. Stat.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Stat.	Rej.
Direct legislation			
Initiative and referendum	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	N. D.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
—With recall	Tex.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Initiative as to constitution	N. D.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Ref'dm as to constitution on petition	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Ref'dm as to constitution by one legislature	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Protecting and elaborating I. and R.	Ariz.	Init. Amend.	Adop.
	Col.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.

* See note page 4.

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Progressive Measures by Classification Continued

Home rule for cities	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Judicial procedure, reform of	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Judicial review limited	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Juries, unanimity rule abolished	Col.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Neb.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Non-partisan nomination for constitutional convention delegate	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Non-partisan judicial nomination	Ore.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Party enrollment as prerequisite for voting abolished	Mass.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Preferential voting	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Primary			
Preferential	Vt.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Direct	Cal.*	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Ore.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
	S. D.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
	Vt.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Proportional representation and election of legislature at large	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
Recall	Kans.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	La.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Tex.*	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Unicameral state legislature	Okla.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
Special legislation restricted	N. C.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Special charters to corps. restricted	N. C.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Special charters to cities restricted	N. C.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Terms of office lengthened	Ga.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Ga.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Idaho	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Neb.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Woman suffrage	Mo.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Mont.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Neb.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Nev.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	N. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Ohio	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Women to hold certain offices	La.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Women allowed to be jurors.*	Col.*	Init. Amend.	Rej.
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL			
Anti-blacklisting	Ariz.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
Assumption of risks doctrine abolished	Col.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.
"Blue-sky laws"	Cal.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
	Cal.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.
	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Conservation and reclamation	Ariz.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Ariz.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	La.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Mich.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.

*Part of another measure.

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Progressive Measures by Classification Continued

	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Ore.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Tex.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wash.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
Employment agencies, state regulation of	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
Eight-hour day, universal	Cal.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Eight-hour day for women, and room ventilation	Ore.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Excess condemnation of land	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Farm loan	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Mont.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.
First aid to employees	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Full crew law	Mo.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
Graduated extra tax	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
Minimum wage	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Municipal ownership	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Old age and mothers' pensions	Ariz.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
One day of rest in seven	Cal.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Pensions for the blind	Mo.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Probation of criminals	Col.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Public employees, Saturday half holiday	Mass.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Vacations for	Mass.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Pensions for	Mass.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
"Right to work" bill	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
Taxation, exemption of improvements	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
State insurance	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Workmen's compensation	Mont.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
	Neb.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.
	Wyo.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
MORAL QUESTIONS			
Prohibition	Ariz.	Init. Amend.	Adop.
	Cal.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Col.	Init. Amend.	Adop.
	Ohio	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Adop.
	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
Prohibiting prize fights	Cal.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
Regulating prize fights by state commission	Mont.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
Red-light abatement	Cal.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS ON PROGRESSIVE MEASURES

	Total	Adop.	Rej.	% Adop.
TYPE OF MEASURE				
Constitutional amendments	75	23	52	30.6
Statutes	35	17	18	48.5
All measures	110	40	70	36.3
ORIGIN OF MEASURES				
Proposed or referred by people	44	16	28	36.3
Submitted by legislature	66	24	42	36.3
Direct legislation states	68	22	46	32.3

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Summary of Results on Progressive Measures Continued	Total	Adop.	Rej.	% Adop
Other states	42	18	24	42.8
In direct legislation states				
Proposed or referred by people	44	13	31	29.5
Submitted by legislature	24	7	17	29.1
POLITICAL MEASURES	57	17	40	29.8
Proposed or referred by people	12	2	10	16.6
Submitted by legislature	45	15	30	33.3
Direct legislation states	27	6	21	22.2
Other states	30	11	19	36.6
In direct legislation states				
Proposed or referred by people	12	2	10	16.6
Submitted by legislature	15	4	11	26.6
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MEASURES	44	17	27	38.6
Proposed or referred by people	23	8	15	34.7
Submitted by legislature	21	9	12	42.8
Direct legislation states	32	10	22	31.2
Other states	12	7	5	58.3
In direct legislation states				
Proposed or referred by people	23	8	15	34.7
Submitted by legislature	9	2	7	22.2

Nearly two-thirds of all the progressive measures came from the direct legislation states, and two-thirds of these were either proposed or referred by the people. But regardless of where they were voted upon or who proposed them, the ban of popular disapproval fell upon them with deadly uniformity. Two out of every three were smothered with hostile votes. The initiative and referendum states might seem, at first blush, to have been in rather worse humor than the others. This is to be explained, however, by the fact that they were voting upon the most radical proposals that there were, and that even the attractiveness of reform measures is subject to the law of diminishing returns. Surely no one would regard Georgia as more progressive than Oregon because she prohibits special legislation at the same election in which Oregon rejects a proposal for a unicameral legislature and the Socialists' "right to work" bill. In fact it is a rather striking thing that there were no groups of states that loomed up as distinctly more progressive or reactionary than the others. People everywhere seemed to be in about the same mood.

A little more than half of these progressive measures provided for changes of a political character. Less than half arose in the direct legislation states, and of these the most radical half came from the people. There seemed, however, to be little popular desire to tamper with the mechanism of government. The three proposals to call constitutional conventions were rejected, together with four of the five amendments providing for the initiative and referendum. Home rule for cities, proportional representation, and direct primaries met a similar fate. From two-thirds to three-fourths of the political changes suggested were defeated at the polls.

Certain other progressive measures,

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something less than half, dealt with economic and social problems. In the main these were proposals for promoting the welfare of certain classes of society, and so it is not surprising that all but a dozen of them were put on the ballot by initiative or referendum petitions. Agriculture had its farm loan bill, and labor its minimum wage and universal eight-hour day, while all the people could claim a direct interest in state insurance or old age pensions. But although the voter felt only too keenly the rigors of economic depression, these suggested measures of reform did not, as a rule, strike him as the appropriate remedies for the situation. Only forty per cent of them were adopted.

Considerable interest attaches to the results of the voting on the moral questions presented to the people. With the exception of Ohio, where the temperance question comes up perennially, none but the states of the far West faced these issues. In each case the people themselves raised the question. In every state where the prohibition question was presented it overshadowed everything else in popular interest, and in Washington more citizens voted upon it than voted for United States Senator. It is worth noting that upon all but two of these moral questions the women had an opportunity to express their views at the polls and that three of the woman suffrage states went dry and one went wet. Whether the results would have been appreciably different without the women's vote is left to the reader's own conjecture.

But not all the proposals voted upon were progressive. The following group contains measures which may be called reactionary.

REACTIONARY MEASURES

Election of judges	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Limiting initiative and referendum	Mo.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Increasing size of legislation	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Long ballot for counties	Fla.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Increasing percentage for city referendum	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Rotation in office, long ballot for counties	N. M.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
for state executive heads together with limitation of terms of office	N. M.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.

These either retrace forward steps previously taken or else clog the wheels of efficiency. It is not surprising that the list is small. In a certain sense it is only surprising that there is a list at all, for it would hardly seem that the reactionary would have the audacity to appeal to the people as his ally. The long ballot and rotation in office have never completely lost their popular appeal, however, for there are still many communities in which the belief prevails that there can never be too much democracy. These proposals are here classified as reactionary because of the fast-spreading conviction that it is a backward step to compel the people to cripple the efficiency of their government by clumsily getting in their own way. The only two measures in the

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list which would in any way limit the power of the people were defeated. No reactionary proposal was adopted in any really progressive state.

The voting on one or two minor groups of measures takes on added interest by reason of the surcharged economic and political atmosphere in which the election was held. Financial measures were submitted in goodly numbers, for this is always a prolific subject of referenda. The people are never strikingly generous, and the fall of 1914 was a particularly unfavorable time to ask for money. It is a matter of surprise, therefore, that the purse-strings were not drawn tighter than they were, and that ten out of a total of thirty-one proposals for bond issues and appropriations were passed. In like manner four of the twelve proposed tax-levies were sanctioned, together with five of the seventeen proposals for a complete overhauling of the tax systems in various states. Eight requests for increases in the salaries of public officials were referred to the people by the legislatures. The two which increased the salaries of governors and state executive officials were carried, but the six which raised the pay of state legislators were rejected with a decisiveness almost vindictive. This situation, which is not unusual, presents a rather serious problem. If the people persist in refusing to pay any more than they feel their legislators to be worth, and those legislators continue to be worth about what the people pay, it is hard to see how the vicious deadlock is to be broken. In the by-and-large however, in spite of economic depression, financial measures received about the same treatment as other groups of proposals.

The twenty-odd proposals which involved in purpose or effect the centralization of governmental powers met approximately the same fate. These measures provided mostly for the creating of state commissions of various kinds or the enlarging of the powers of those already created. All but three of these proposals were submitted in the direct legislation states and a large majority originated with the people. They represent a movement naturally incident to the modern multiplication of state functions. A prejudice against this sort of concentration of power is apt to exist in states which have not had actual experience with commissions of proved efficiency or which have had any experience with commissions of proved inefficiency, and it may well be that the defeat of two-thirds of these proposals indicates no more than the normal degree of opposition to them.

The courts and the administration of justice claimed some share of the voter's attention. Twenty-three proposals of widely varying character were made, aimed to remedy real or imagined abuses. Some of these were ill-advised and have already been described as reactionary, but they all reflect a more or less significant protest in fourteen states against our present machinery of justice. Two of the three

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attempts to abolish the unanimity rule for verdicts in civil suits were successful, and two-thirds of the other measures were adopted. The people seemed to look more favorably upon this sort of reform than upon any other.

The tendency to "clutter up" state constitutions with matter purely legislative in character is a phenomenon which most thinking people view with grave concern. It began as the expression of a profound popular distrust of the state legislatures and a popular desire to put things of value beyond legislative reach. The practice continues, partly for the same reasons and partly because the mere fact that it has begun makes it exceedingly difficult to stop. Elaborate and detailed provisions are written into the state constitutions (witness the fifteen closely printed pages of corporation law in the constitution of Oklahoma) and there they must remain until the people in their sovereign power pass amendments which in their turn must be revised by still other amendments. Thus Minnesota, for example, is doing penance for past sins, and faces the necessity of getting a majority of all the voters to repeal a provision foolishly written into the state constitution requiring the annual report of the state treasurer to be published in a St. Paul newspaper. There is no elasticity, no easy method of keeping this misplaced legislation abreast of the times or of getting rid of it when it grows obsolete. The people in their clumsy way have to keep on legislating about these matters simply because they have started, and the vicious circle is complete. And so it may very well be that many of the proposals which should have been enacted into statute law were put into state constitutions last fall, not because the people felt that their being there served any useful purpose in itself, but because it seemed the only feasible way to fit certain new ideas into the existing constitutional mosaic. There is room, of course, for a wide difference of opinion as to just which of the two hundred and one constitutional amendments presented were really legislative in character. The list presented here is too small rather than too large, for the aim has been to make it include only those amendments the statutory character of which could not be questioned. It will be noticed that while this practice still continues in some of the most progressive states, the states of the South are the greatest offenders and seem quite content, for example, to see the regulation of automobile licenses and the names of state institutions remain matters of constitutional law.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS OF STATUTORY CHARACTER

Cal.	Deposit of public money.
	Extra sessions of district court of appeals.
	Exposition contribution by Alameda County.
	Place of payment of bonds and interest.
Col.	Enlarging powers of state board of equalization.

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Constitutional Amendments of Statutory Character Continued

Ga.	Abolishing justice courts in Savannah.
Idaho	Taking superintendent of instruction off land board.
La.	Taxation of foreign banks and corporations.
	Drainage district bonds to be sold at 90% of par.
	Marriage limit date for widows of Confederate veterans.
	Taxes for fire department and buildings.
	Amending auto licenses.
	Amending New Orleans school bonds.
	Additional judges for certain districts (2 measures).
Mich.	Relating to fraternal beneficiary societies.
Minn.	Publication of state treasurer's report in St. Paul newspaper.
	Dog tax and indemnity for injuries from dogs.
Mo.	Raising tax rate of cities for subway construction.
N. C.	Substitution of "War between states" in constitution.
	Six months' public school term.
N. D.	Changing name of state blind asylum.
S. C.	Changing name of state institutions (2 measures).
	Relating to local improvements in particular cities and bonded debt therefor (7 measures).
S. D.	Reducing interest on school loans.
Wyo.	Special tax on live stock and bounty on predatory animals.

In this, as in most referendum elections, the people were compelled to lose dignity by voting upon purely local or trivial matters. These measures were sometimes constitutional and sometimes legislative in character. They dealt with all kinds of subjects, from the affairs of individual counties or cities to the curriculum of a South Dakota Normal School. They are of course the *reductio ad absurdum* of direct legislation. It may be called to mind, however, that a measure to prohibit fishing in Rogue River save with a hook and line was a fair sample of nearly half of the thirty-odd matters upon which the people of Oregon voted in 1910. The list of odds and ends here collected seems in reality to indicate that, outside the Southern states, the referendum ballot is ceasing to usurp the functions of the state legislature and the town council.

MEASURES OF LOCAL AND MINOR SIGNIFICANCE

Ariz.	Changing county seats.
	Creating new counties.
	Electrical construction.
	Creating Miami County.
Col.	Regulating fruit commission merchants.
Ga.	Legislative representation of new counties.
	Creating four counties (4 measures).
La.	New Orleans park construction.
N. C.	Removing obsolete sections from constitution.
Ore.	Dentistry regulation.
	Consolidation of corporation and insurance depts.
S. D.	Fixing course of study at Aberdeen Normal School.

See also many of the measures in the table last preceding.

It would be quite natural for any casual observer to connect the rather general rejection of progressive measures last fall with the political re-

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action which swept the country and the gloomy fate of the Progressive party. The same avalanche which buried the La Follette regime in Wisconsin carried with it every one of ten progressive amendments. But on the other hand only one third of the progressive measures submitted in California were adopted in an election in which the Progressives made a net gain of sixty-two per cent. There is lack of evidence that the popular mind linked up these progressive measures with the "Bull Moose." A careful analysis of the result seems to indicate that while progressive measures and progressive candidates fell by the same blow they fell independently.

How much is the voter interested in all this? This is perhaps the most vital question that people ask about popular voting on measures. By its answer the whole system is in large measure justified or condemned, and charges of minority rule and class legislation stand or fall. The tabulation here given answers that question in no uncertain manner. It shows that the voters were interested, that seventy-eight per cent of those who voted for Governors or Congressmen voted on the important proposals, that sixty-eight per cent voted, as a rule, on everything, that sixty-one per cent voted even on the most trivial matters. The initiative and referendum states, so far from fainting under the burden of direct legislation, seem to face their task with increasing zeal, while the results in the eight woman suffrage states involved indicate that women vote upon measures with about the same degree of interest that men do. On the whole we seem to be in no very great danger of being ruled by radical minorities in these referendum elections.

SIZE OF VOTE ON MEASURES AS COMPARED WITH VOTE FOR GOVERNOR OR CONGRESSMEN

	Average percentage of total vote	Lowest percentage of total vote	Highest percentage of total vote
Ariz.	68.8	56.8	93.5
Cal.	65.9	41.1	96.
Col.	51.1	38.9	91.3
Fla.	....	....	....
Ga.	22.6	14.4	26.3
Idaho	61.4	53.2	70.3
Ind.	87.8	87.7	87.9
Kans.	66.2	61.2	71.1
La.	59.4	55.7	63.2
Me.	73.7	73.7	73.7
Mass.	78.1	74.1	82.1†
Mich.	84.1	82.9	87.2
Minn.	57.1	50.1	64.9
Miss.	....	....	....
Mo.	73.9	69.7	81.6
Mont.	94.4	89.4	99.5
Neb.	75.5	69.3	90.
Nev.	72.6	62.6	82.6
N. M.	72.9	66.2	83.4

†Returns on only two measures out of four.

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Size of Vote on Measures as Compared with Vote for Governor or Congressmen Continued

	Average percentage of total vote	Lowest percentage of total vote	Highest percentage of total vote
N. C.	56.7	56.2	62.8
N. D.	74.5	54.2	78.3
Ohio	84.5	68.7	97.4
Okla.	....	....	....
Ore.	76.2	70.	95.6
S. C.	....	....	....
S. D.	80.7	72.7	92.8
Tex.	60.6	59.8	66.4
Vt.	38.4	31.1	45.6
Wash.	87.9	77.5	104.5
Wis.	67.8	65.1	70.1
Wyo.	61.5	56.2	66.2
	68.7	61.4	78.7
Woman suffrage states.*	67.2	56.8	86.3
I. and R. States in 1914	76.1	67.1	91.3
I. and R. states in 1912	72.	68.	82.

*The woman suffrage states are Ariz., Cal., Col., Idaho, Kans., Ore., Wash., Wyo.

Another significant question: What is the voter most interested in? With a view to answering it the measures voted upon in the different states have been arranged in the appendix in the order of the size of the total vote cast upon them. As has already been suggested, the moral questions seem more vital to the people than any others. There is nothing so absorbing as prohibition. Then comes woman suffrage, standing first in five out of seven states. These two measures, always hotly contested, arrest the attention of citizens who are indifferent to everything else. Next in order is a widely various group of economic and social problems, measures understood more or less clearly even by the ignorant, measures affecting the conditions in which men live and do their work, measures over which the interests of different classes of society are brought to clash. But what of the proposals for political change, direct government and all the devices of the new democracy and readjustments of the old? It may seem surprising that the initiative and referendum is the only one of these measures which elicits a uniformly high degree of popular interest. It is a little hard to understand why the voters of Minnesota should be more interested in regulating a dog tax than in the recall of elective officials. Perhaps these proposals for political change are somewhat lacking in human interest; they may frequently be rather hard to understand. Whatever the reason, certain it is that they are apt to be forgotten in the presence of problems of moral and economic significance. The measures which interested the people least were, as a rule, those which were local or technical in character. There seems to be a discernable tendency on the part of the voter not to express an opinion upon questions he does not understand.

Many caustic statements are made

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about the voter's inability to discriminate among measures presented to him. These comments are usually called forth by the failure of the people to vote as the critic himself would have done. But the real test of popular intelligence is not whether the people vote yes or no on a given measure but whether they fully realize the significance of that vote, not what their will is but whether they so use the referendum ballot as to give expression to that will. Viewed in this light the popular voting on measures last November cannot be called unintelligent. A scanning of the vote on separate measures discloses an almost total absence of that tendency to treat all propositions alike, which betrays an indifferent ignorance. The more exacting the task imposed upon the people, the more painstakingly and discreetly did they perform it. It was certainly no small achievement for the citizenship of California in one election to choose a Progressive governor, a Democratic United States Senator, and carefully to select for passage twenty-seven of forty-eight highly various proposals. And so while perhaps lamenting the fact that it seemed good to the voter to check the onward march of progressivism, we must pay tribute to the clear-headed consistency with which he did the job.

It is not possible to close the analysis of this most remarkable election with a neat table of precise and infallible laws by which we may explain how the people voted this time and prophesy how they will vote next time. The people do not vote according to general rules. The voter refuses to stay classified and labelled, and persists, in a most annoying manner, in jumping out of the pigeon-holes in which he is so carefully placed by the man who is trying to create a systematic philosophy of direct government. It has, however, been possible to see the sort of measures in which he is most interested and to discover that they interested him a great deal. And above everything else it has been impossible not to realize that the voter's mood was one of profound suspicion. It was no time for experiments. He preferred to combat the gloomy spectre, hard times, not only with the aid of servants he knew, but with weapons he had been accustomed to using. Hence the unhappy fate of most progressive measures. The voter's suspicions may have been unfounded, and in a few years he will probably want most of the things he rejected last November; but whether his judgment was good or bad, he justified the referendum ballot by using it to give himself precisely what he wanted.

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COMPLETE LIST OF MEASURES BY STATES

(Note: When a measure was defeated, "D" follows the total)

Arizona

		YES	NO	TOTAL
1. Prohibition	Init. Amend.	25,887	22,743	48,630
2. Prohibition elections limited to 8-year periods	Init. Amend.	16,059	26,437	42,496 D
3. 80% citizenship act. Any company or individual who employs more than five persons regardless of kind or class of work or sex of workers shall employ not less than 80% qualified electors or native-born citizens of the United States	Init. Stat.	25,017	14,323	39,340
4. Old age and mothers' pensions	Init. Stat.	25,827	12,394	38,221
5. Abolishing capital punishment	Init. Stat.	18,129	19,381	37,510 D
6. $5,000,000 bonds for state highways	Init. Amend.	13,215	23,499	36,714 D
7. Creating Miami county	Init. Stat.	5,878	30,055	35,933 D
8. Anti-blacklisting	Init. Stat.	18,207	17,444	35,651
9. Equal system of taxation—whereby owner or agent of real or personal property shall assess his or her own property, the state of Arizona reserving the right to take over the property at its assessed valuation	Init. Stat.	13,032	21,277	34,300 D
10. Appropriation for California Exposition, 1915	Init. Stat.	10,995	22,434	33,429 D
11. Three-cent fare act	Ref. Stat.	20,968	12,210	33,178
12. Initiative and referendum measures not to be vetoed, amended or repealed	Init. Amend.	16,567	16,484	33,051
13. Creating state reclamation service	Init. Amend.	14,701	17,994	32,695 D
14. Development of resources of Arizona. Establishing contract system, state banking system and printing plant	Init. Stat.	16,754	15,853	32,607
15. Changing of county seats	Ref. Stat.	14,255	17,740	31,995 D
16. Creation of new counties	Ref. Stat.	10,756	21,152	31,908 D
17. Electrical construction — regulating the placing, use and maintenance of electric poles, wires, cables and appliances and providing the punishment for the violation thereof	Init. Stat.	18,871	12,256	31,127
18. Semi-annual payment of taxes	Init. Stat.	13,842	15,934	29,776 D
19. Concerning pardons and reprieves and creating board of pardons and paroles	Ref. Stat.	15,425	13,554	28,979

California

1. Prohibition	Init. Amend.	355,536	524,781	890,317 D
2. Eight hour law	Init. Stat.	242,692	568,881	811,573 D
3. Prohibition election prohibited for 8 years	Init. Amend.	355,394	435,701	791,095 D
4. Abolition of poll-tax	Init. Amend.	405,375	374,487	779,862
5. Red-light abatement	Ref. Stat.	402,629	352,821	755,450
6. One day of rest in seven	Init. Stat.	290,619	457,890	748,509 D
7. Prohibiting prize fights	Init. Stat.	413,741	327,569	741,310
8. Non-sale of game	Ref. Stat.	353,295	361,446	714,741 D
9. Drugless practice, creating state board of	Init. Stat.	223,217	462,355	685,572 D
10. Suspension of prohibition amendment in case it carries	Init. Amend.	448,648	226,688	675,336
11. Minimum wage	Leg. Amend.	379,311	295,109	674,420
12. Exempting vessels from taxation	Leg. Amend.	359,176	301,969	661,145
13. University of California building bond act	Init. Stat.	413,020	239,332	652,352
14. Qualifications of voters at bond elections	Init. Amend.	312,193	337,951	650,144 D

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complete List of Measures by States Continued		YES	NO	TOTAL
15. Local taxation exemption. Authorizes any county or municipality to exempt from taxation for local purposes in whole or in part any one or more of the following classes of property: improvements in, on, or over land; shipping; household furniture; live stock; merchandise; machinery; tools; farming implements; vehicles; other personal property except franchises; provides that ordinance or resolution making such exemption shall be subject to referendum; and requires that taxes upon property not exempt from taxation shall be uniform	Leg. Amend.	267,618	375,634	643,252 D
16. Voting by absent electors	Init. Stat.	244,855	390,337	635,192 D
17. Regulating investment companies—creating state corporation department	Ref. Stat.	343,805	288,084	631,889
18. Exempting educational institutions from taxation	Leg. Amend.	331,549	293,721	625,270
19. Calling convention for revision of constitution	Leg. Resolut'n.	180,111	442,687	622,798 D
20. Water commission act—creating state water commission	Ref. Stat.	309,980	301,817	611,797
21. Los Angeles state building bonds	Init. Stat.	285,796	320,302	606,098 D
22. Regulating investment companies	Init. Stat.	249,500	353,812	603,312 D
23. Election of United States Senators. Eliminates provision of present section prohibiting governor from being elected United States Senator during his term of office, and provides that such Senators shall be elected by the people of state in manner provided by law	Leg. Amend.	404,283	190,969	595,252
24. Exposition contribution by Alameda county	Leg. Amend.	390,835	202,128	592,963
25. Torrens land title law	Init. Stat.	359,757	224,846	584,603
26. Consolidation of city and county and limited annexation of contiguous territory	Init. Amend.	293,901	287,185	581,086
27. San Francisco harbor improvement act	Leg. Stat.	408,633	167,589	576,222
28. Excess condemnation of land. Authorizes state, county or municipality to condemn neighboring property within its limits additional to that actually intended for proposed improvement and regulation thereof	Leg. Amend.	259,192	307,155	566,347 D
29. City and county consolidation and annexation with consent of annexed territory	Init. Amend.	248,112	318,224	566,336 D
30. Sacramento state building bonds	Leg. Stat.	294,928	267,717	562,645
31. State fair grounds bonds	Leg. Stat.	259,721	301,764	561,485 D
32. Deposit of public moneys	Init. Amend.	236,573	324,558	561,131 D
33. Taxation of public property. Declaring taxable all lands and improvements thereon owned beyond its limits by a county or municipality	Leg. Amend.	344,433	216,612	561,045
34. Miscarriage of justice. Providing that no judgment shall be set aside or new trial granted in any case, civil or criminal, for misdirection of jury or improper admission or rejection of evidence, or for any error as to any matter of pleading or				

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

		YES	NO	TOTAL
procedure, unless after examination of entire cause including the evidence, court is of opinion that error complained of resulted in miscarriage of justice	Leg. Amend.	378,237	182,073	560,310
35. San Francisco state building act	Leg. Stat.	300,028	257,119	557,147
36. Regulation of public utilities	Leg. Amend.	291,665	260,589	552,254
37. Legislative control of irrigation, reclamation, and drainage districts	Leg. Amend.	335,047	216,865	551,912
38. Constitutional conventions. Regulating nomination and election of delegates, time of meeting and submission of constitution or amendments to people	Leg. Amend.	271,896	274,325	546,221 D
39. Valuation of condemned public utilities by railroad commission	Leg. Amend.	291,836	244,379	536,215
40. Elections by plurality, preferential vote and primary	Leg. Amend.	240,600	294,265	534,865 D
41. Irrigation districts controlling international water systems	Leg. Amend.	349,684	185,168	534,852
42. Extra sessions of district courts of appeal	Leg. Amend.	203,674	322,891	526,565 D
43. Place of payment of bonds and interest	Leg. Amend.	306,195	206,479	512,674
44. Adoption and amendment of municipal charters	Leg. Amend.	285,338	226,679	512,017
45. Public utilities in municipalities. Authorizes any municipal corporation to acquire and operate public utilities; to grant franchises to operate the same under regulations prescribed by its organic law or otherwise by law; but eliminates from present section provisions authorizing municipal government to regulate charges for services under such franchises; and authorizes municipal corporation to furnish the product or service of public utility operated by it to users beyond its limits, to other municipalities and to inhabitants thereof without the consent of such municipalities	Leg. Amend.	231,724	278,129	509,853 D
46. Incorporation of public utilities	Leg. Amend.	284,757	214,312	499,069
47. County charters	Leg. Amend.	261,219	225,530	486,749
48. Assembly pay roll expenses, increase of	Leg. Amend.	87,315	294,272	381,587 D
COLORADO				
1. Prohibition	Init. Amend.	129,589	118,017	247,606
2. Annual road tax of one-half mill	Init. Stat.	117,146	54,844	171,990
3. Prohibiting the initiation of a rejected measure again within six years	Init. Amend.	55,667	112,537	168,204 D
4. Authorizing verdicts by three-fourths of juries in civil case and permitting women to serve as jurors, if willing	Init. Amend.	67,130	77,488	144,618 D
5. Establishment of a child welfare commission	Init. Stat.	68,242	72,122	140,364 D
6. To permit probation of criminals	Init. Stat.	62,561	68,512	131,073 D
7. Abolishing legal doctrine of assumption of risks	Ref. Stat.	69,006	60,298	129,304
8. To make newspapers public utilities	Init. Amend.	35,752	91,426	127,178 D
9. Enabling 25% of voters to demand special election to submit initiated or referred measures and authorizing governor to call such elections at pleasure	Init. Amend.	40,643	80,977	121,620 D

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

		YES	NO	TOTAL
10. Providing that deputy sheriffs must be voters in the counties in which they are appointed	Ref. Stat.	49,116	66,836	115,952 D
11. Enlarging the powers of the state board of equalization	Leg. Amend.	55,987	55,275	111,262
12. To regulate fruit commission merchants	Ref. Stat.	39,448	67,454	106,902 D
13. Creating a public utility commission and prescribing its powers	Ref. Stat.	39,703	65,182	104,885 D
14. Authorizing cities and towns to issue sixty-year bonds	Leg. Amend.	39,589	65,206	104,795 D
15. Authorizing the pamphlet-form publication of submitted measures	Leg. Amend.	48,301	56,259	104,560 D
16. Referring sections 35, 36 and 37 of public utilities law (No. 13 above)	Ref. Stat.	37,663	63,603	101,266 D

FLORIDA

1. Providing for election by the qualified electors in each county of the following county officers: Clerk of the Circuit Court, Sheriff, Constables, County Assessor of taxes, a Tax Collector, Superintendent of Public Instruction and a County Surveyor	Leg. Amend.	Adopted
2. Permitting Governor to appoint all commissioned officers of the state militia, including an Adjutant-General for the state, with rank of Brigadier-General who shall be Chief-of-Staff	Leg. Amend.	Adopted
3. Investing the judicial power of the state in a Supreme Court, Circuit Courts, Court of Record of Escambia county, Criminal Courts, County Courts, County Judges and Justices of the Peace and such other courts or commissions as the legislature may establish. No court heretofore established shall be hereby abolished	Leg. Amend.	Adopted

GEORGIA

1. Making term of county officers four years	Leg. Amend.	27,520	26,460	53,980
2. Extending terms of members of General Assembly	Leg. Amend.	35,708	17,896	53,604
3. Authorizing legislature to abolish office of county treasurer	Leg. Amend.	35,984	15,977	51,871
4. Creation of Bacon county	Leg. Amend.	37,907	10,170	48,077
5. Creation of Chandler county	Leg. Amend.	36,694	10,466	47,160
6. Creation of Evans county	Leg. Amend.	36,669	9,789	46,458
7. Provision for legislative representation of new counties	Leg. Amend.	34,822	10,466	45,288
8. Abolition of justice courts in Savannah	Leg. Amend.	31,615	11,173	42,788
9. Creation of Barrow county	Leg. Amend.	19,581	10,116	29,697

IDAHO

1. Supreme Justices (five instead of three)	Leg. Amend.	17,170	60,119	77,289D
2. Superintendent of public instruction taken off from land board	Leg. Amend.	31,528	44,168	75,696 D
3. Four year term for all state executive officials	Leg. Amend.	23,952	25,562	49,514 D

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complete List of Measures by States Continued		YES	NO	TOTAL
INDIANA				
1. Calling constitutional convention	Leg. Stat.	235,140	330,947	566,087 D
2. Appropriation for centennial celebration	Leg. Stat.	97,718	466,700	564,418 D
KANSAS				
1. Recall of public officials	Leg. Amend.	240,240	135,630	375,870
2. Classification of property for taxation	Leg. Amend.	156,969	166,800	323,769 D
LOUISIANA				
1. Giving women right to hold any office connected with public educational system of state and with institutions of charity or corrections	Leg. Amend.	12,537	19,654	32,191 D
2. Taxation of foreign corporations and banks	Leg. Amend.	24,615	7,539	32,154
3. Exempting from taxation all money in hand or on deposit and loans by Homestead Associations	Leg. Amend.	23,714	7,947	31,661
4. Changing requirements of property ownership exemption from $1,000 to $2,000 and changing marriage limit date for widows of Confederate veterans from January 1885 to January 1890	Leg. Amend.	23,412	8,012	31,424
5. Raising Governor's salary from $5,000 to $7,500	Leg. Amend.	17,772	13,510	31,282
6. Recall of certain officials elected by the people	Leg. Amend.	23,208	7,650	30,858
7. Exempting certain new canals from taxation for ten years	Leg. Amend.	21,429	9,247	30,676
8. Amending licensing automobiles	Leg. Amend.	22,544	7,723	30,267
9. Relative to support of public schools of state and the levying of taxes thereon by parishes, cities and towns under certain conditions	Leg. Amend.	21,794	8,386	30,180
10. Providing an additional judge in first, thirteenth, twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth judicial districts	Leg. Amend.	18,493	11,550	30,043
11. Creating an additional judge for thirteenth judicial district	Leg. Amend.	7,519	22,128	29,647 D
12. Authorizing New Orleans to issue $3,000,000 worth of bonds, levy a special tax therefor and create a lake shore park	Leg. Amend.	7,667	21,953	29,620 D
13. Granting legislature power to create office of Assistant District Attorney in each judicial district	Leg. Amend.	17,564	11,962	29,526
14. Authorizing Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans to dig and operate a canal between Lake Ponchartrain and the Mississippi River	Leg. Amend.	20,913	8,577	29,490
15. Amplifying creation of drainage districts and permitting bonds there to be sold at 90% of par	Leg. Amend.	19,368	9,366	28,734
16. Permitting additional levying of taxes for benefit of fire departments and buildings	Leg. Amend.	17,671	10,851	28,522
17. Amending New Orleans public school bonds	Leg. Amend.	19,876	8,489	28,365
MAINE				
1. An act to create a public utilities commission, prescribe its powers and duties, and provide for the regulation and control of public utilities	Ref. Stat.	67,365	37,008	104,373

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complete List of Measures by States Continued		YES	NO	TOTAL
MASSACHUSETTS				
1. Shall an act passed by the General Court in the year 1914, to make Saturday a half holiday, without loss of pay, for workmen and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Commonwealth, and otherwise to regulate their employment, be accepted?	Leg. Stat.	248,987	128,251	377,238
2. Shall party enrollment as a prerequisite for voting be abolished?	Leg. Stat.	253,716	86,834	340,550
3. Shall an act passed by the General Court in the year 1914, entitled "An act relative to vacations of laborers employed by cities and towns" be accepted?	Leg. Stat.			Adopted
4. Shall an act passed by the General Court in the year 1914, entitled "An act authorizing the counties of the Commonwealth to establish retirement systems for their employees" be accepted?	Leg. Stat.			Adopted
MICHIGAN				
1. Defining and regulating fraternal beneficiary societies	Init. Amend.	92,392	291,766	384,158 D
2. Permitting voting by absentee electors	Leg. Amend.	190,510	175,948	366,458
3. Bond issue for construction and permanent improvement of public wagon roads	Leg. Amend.	164,333	202,087	366,420 D
4. Authorizing counties to issue bonds for the construction of drains and the development and improvement of agricultural lands within the county	Leg. Amend.	165,290	199,873	365,163 D
MINNESOTA				
1. State forests. Authorizing use of certain state lands for state forests	Leg. Amend.	178,954	44,033	222,987
2. Setting apart a revolving fund from the school and swamp land funds to be used in constructing roads, ditches and fire breaks, in, through and around unsold school and swamp lands	Leg. Amend.	162,951	47,906	*210,857 D
3. The initiative and referendum	Leg. Amend.	168,004	41,577	*209,581 D
4. Relating to the investment of school funds and authorizing their investment and loaning on improved farm lands within the state	Leg. Amend.	159,531	38,145	*197,676 D
5. Providing for the taxation of dogs and from the fund derived from such tax, authorizing payment of the damages sustained by the owners of other domestic animals by reason of injuries caused by dogs	Leg. Amend.	136,671	59,786	*196,457 D
6. Increasing the number of associate justices of the Supreme Court from four to six and providing that no statute shall be held unconstitutional by less than five judges, and that the clerk shall be appointed by the court	Leg. Amend.	127,352	68,886	*196,238 D
7. Extending term of office of probate judges to four years	Leg. Amend.	128,601	64,214	*192,815 D
8. Repealing requirement of annual publica-				

*Failed to receive a majority of all the votes cast in the election.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complete List of Measures by States Continued		YES	NO	TOTAL
tion in a St. Paul newspaper of report of state treasurer	Leg. Amend.	131,213	58,827	*190,040 D
9. Recall of public officials	Leg. Amend.	139,801	44,961	*184,762 D
10. Relating to number of members of Senate and House of Representatives and the basis of apportionment thereof	Leg. Amend.	98,144	84,436	*182,580 D
11. Relating to the payment of tree bounties by the state	Leg. Amend.	108,352	63,782	*172,134 D

Mississippi

1. Engrafting initiative and referendum into the constitution	Leg. Amend	Rejected
2. Reapportioning representation in the State Senate and increasing the membership of that body from 45 to 49	Leg. Amend	Adopted
3. Increasing number of judges of Supreme Court from 3 to 6	Leg. Amend	Adopted
4. Making judges elective by the people	Leg. Amend	Adopted
5. Repealing section providing that the Governor shall appoint Supreme Court judges	Leg. Amend	Adopted
6. Providing judges shall be elected from the Supreme Court districts as created by the constitution	Leg. Amend	Adopted
7. Fixing terms of Supreme Court judges at 8 years	Leg. Amend	Adopted
8. Providing that the Supreme Court may sit in two divisions with 3 judges in each division	Leg. Amend	Adopted
9. Allowing 9 or more jurors in civil suits to agree on a verdict and return it as the verdict of the jury	Leg. Amend	Adopted

Missouri

1. Woman suffrage	Init. Amend.	182,257	322,463	504,720 D
2. Full crew bill relating to railroads	Ref. Stat.	159,892	324,384	484,276 D
3. Making counties units in local option elections	Ref. Stat.	172,909	311,285	484,194 D
4. Anti-single tax. Limiting power of initiative and referendum	Leg. Amend.	138,039	334,310	472,349 D
5. To pension the blind	Leg. Amend.	214,951	255,717	470,668 D
6. 10-cent tax on $100 property assessment for good roads	Leg. Amend.	112,497	346,995	459,492 D
7. $50,000,000 road bond issue	Init. Amend.	76,574	378,530	455,104 D
8. To permit raising funds in road districts on petition of taxpayers	Init. Amend.	80,935	373,302	454,237 D
9. Special road levy of 65 cents on each $100 assessed valuation if voters desire	Leg. Amend.	117,041	333,576	450,617 D
10. To increase pay of legislature	Leg. Amend.	89,629	355,326	444,955 D
11. Abolishing office of police commissioner in cities of 300,000 population and having bi-partisan board appointed	Ref. Stat.	131,382	306,942	438,324 D
12. Abolishing office of excise commissioners in cities of 300,000 population and having bi-partisan board appointed	Ref. Stat.	134,449	303,757	438,206 D
13. Raising debt limit of Kansas City to permit acquisition of public utilities	Leg. Amend.	123,596	312,651	436,247 D

*Failed to receive a majority of all the votes cast in the election.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complete List of Measures by States Continued		YES	NO	TOTAL
14. To permit cities to increase tax rates for building subways	Leg. Amend.	117,197	316,959	434,156 D
15. To simplify charter changes for cities	Leg. Amend.	140,475	290,562	431,037 D
MONTANA				
1. Workmen's compensation	Init. Stat.	36,991	44,275	81,266 D
2. Woman suffrage	Leg. Amend.	41,302	37,588	78,890
3. Creating state commission to regulate boxing contests	Ref. Stat.	34,440	42,581	77,021 D
4. Consolidation of state colleges and universities	Init. Stat.	30,465	46,311	76,776 D
5. Increase in school tax levy	Leg. Amend.	28,703	46,265	74,968 D
6. Farm loan bill	Init. Stat.	45,162	27,780	72,942
NEBRASKA				
1. Woman suffrage	Init. Amend.	66,883	148,110	214,993 D
2. University removal and consolidation	Ref. Stat.	90,738	100,842	191,580 D
3. Workmen's compensation	Ref. Stat.	92,513	85,777	178,290
4. Armory appropriation	Ref. Stat.	40,520	133,451	173,971 D
5. Providing for uniform and progressive taxation	Leg. Amend.	88,068	82,136	170,204
6. Five-sixths of jury to render verdict in all civil cases and in all criminal cases less than felonies	Leg. Amend.	102,891	63,596	166,487
7. Fixing term of office and salary for Governor and other state officials	Leg. Amend.	89,385	76,013	165,398
NEVADA				
1. Woman suffrage	Leg. Amend.	10,618	7,179	17,797
2. Changing form of official oath by omitting requirement that officers swear that they never fought a duel	Leg. Amend.	9,859	3,630	13,489
NEW MEXICO				
1. All county officers shall be elected for a term of two years and after having served two consecutive terms shall be ineligible to hold any county office for two years thereafter	Leg. Amend.	20,282	18,468	38,750
2. Revision of taxation and revenue system of state	Leg. Amend.	18,468	13,593	32,061
3. Limiting terms of office of officers of executive departments to two years, and making them ineligible for reelection for two years after having served two consecutive terms. Officers must reside and keep public records at seat of government	Leg. Amend.	18,474	12,257	30,731
NORTH CAROLINA				
1. To require six months' public school term	Leg. Amend.	59,519	61,317	120,836 D
2. To prevent delays in trials by providing emergency judges	Leg. Amend.	56,255	62,981	119,236 D
3. Increasing pay of state legislators and decreasing mileage	Leg. Amend.	50,722	68,149	118,871 D
4. Substituting the phrase "War between the States" for the words "Insurrection or rebellion against the United States"	Leg. Amend.	57,816	61,031	118,847 D

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complete List of Measures by States Continued		YES	NO	TOTAL
5. To revise and reform system of revenue and taxation	Leg. Amend.	50,520	68,148	118,668 D
6. Restricting local, private, and special legislation	Leg. Amend.	54,726	62,953	117,679 D
7. To prevent special charters to corporations by legislature	Leg. Amend.	54,358	63,201	117,559 D
8. Fixing days of inauguration of Governor	Leg. Amend.	57,321	60,220	117,541 D
9. Removing obsolete sections from constitution	Leg. Amend.	54,414	62,728	117,142 D
10. To prevent special charters to municipalities	Leg. Amend.	53,887	63,027	116,914 D
NORTH DAKOTA				
1. Woman suffrage	Leg. Amend.			Rejected
2. Providing terminal grain elevators within the state	Leg. Amend.	51,507	18,484	69,991
3. Initiative and referendum	Leg. Amend.	48,783	19,964	68,747
4. State aid for public highways	Leg. Amend.	47,387	21,054	68,441
5. Providing initiative for amending constitution	Leg. Amend.	43,111	21,815	64,926
6. To change name of state blind asylum	Leg. Amend.	42,365	21,779	64,144
7. Classification of property for taxation	Leg. Amend.	45,162	18,135	63,297
OHIO				
1. Home rule on the subject of intoxicating liquors	Init. Amend.	554,548	546,248	1,100,796
2. Prohibition	Init. Amend.	503,292	586,663	1,089,955 D
3. Woman suffrage	Init. Amend.	334,160	517,611	851,771 D
4. Limitation of tax rate and classification of property for purposes of taxation	Init. Amend.	224,598	551,977	776,575 D
OKLAHOMA				
1. Reducing maximum state tax	Init. Amend.	117,675	57,120	*174,795 D
2. Reducing number of courts from two to one, called supreme court	Init. Amend.	105,529	64,782	*170,311 D
3. Two per cent tax on product of mines, gas, and petroleum	Init. Amend.	107,342	62,380	*169,722 D
4. One-body legislature of 80 members	Init. Amend.	94,636	71,742	*166,388 D
OREGON				
1. Prohibition	Init. Amend.	136,842	100,362	237,204
2. Universal eight-hour day	Init. Amend.	49,360	167,888	217,248 D
3. Eight-hour day and room ventilation for female workers	Init. Stat.	88,480	120,296	208,776 D
4. Requiring voters to be citizens	Leg. Amend.	164,879	39,847	204,726
5. Regulating requirements of dentists to practice in state	Init. Stat.	92,722	110,404	203,126 D
6. $1,500 tax exemption	Init. Amend.	65,495	136,193	201,688 D
7. Abolition of death penalty	Init. Stat.	100,552	100,395	200,947
8. Creating office of Lieutenant-Governor	Leg. Amend.	52,040	143,804	195,844 D
9. Annual tax levy to reestablish Southern Oregon normal school at Ashland	Leg. Stat.	84,041	109,643	193,684 D
10. Annual tax levy to reestablish state normal school at Weston	Leg. Stat.	87,450	105,345	192,795 D
11. County officers' terms to be four years instead of two	Init. Amend.	82,841	107,039	189,880 D
12. Increasing pay of legislators	Leg. Amend.	41,087	146,278	187,365 D
13. Abolishing State senate	Init. Amend.	62,376	123,429	185,805 D

*Failed to receive a majority of all the votes cast in the election.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complete List of Measures by States Continued	YES	NO	TOTAL
14. Authorizing state indebtedness for irrigation and power projects.....Leg. Amend.	49,759	135,550	185,309 D
15. Specific personal graduated extra-tax.....Init. Amend.	59,186	124,943	184,129 D
16. "Right to work" amendment. Creating department to give work to unemployed Init. Amend.	57,859	126,201	184,060 D
17. Equal assessment and taxation and $300 exemption.....Init. Amend.	43,280	140,507	183,787 D
18. Public docks and water front. Prohibiting sale of beds of navigable waters and subjecting same to public use for construction of municipal docks.....Init. Amend.	67,128	114,564	181,692 D
19. Non-partisan nominations for judicial officers.....Init. Stat.	74,323	107,263	181,586 D
20. Permitting city and county governments to be consolidated upon vote of people interested.....Leg. Amend.	77,392	103,194	180,586 D
21. Primary delegate election bill. Authorizing primary election of delegates to recommend names of persons to be voted for at primary nominating elections.....Init. Stat.	25,058	153,638	178,696 D
22. Cities and towns authorized to construct municipal wharves and docks.....Init. Stat.	67,110	111,113	178,223 D
23. Tax code commission to be appointed by governor.....Init. Stat.	34,436	143,468	177,904 D
24. Proportional representation and election of State legislature at large.....Init. Amend.	39,740	137,116	176,856 D
25. Abolishing desert land board and merging certain offices.....Init. Stat.	32,701	143,366	176,067 D
26. Modifying uniform rule of taxation. Omitting "All taxation shall be equal and uniform" and providing for levy and collection under general law for public purposes only and prohibiting surrender of taxing power.....Leg. Amend.	59,206	116,490	175,696 D
27. Consolidating corporation and insurance departments.....Init. Stat.	55,469	120,154	175,623 D
28. Modifying rule of taxation. Changing rule for uniformity, authorizing levy of taxes on such property and in such manner as prescribed by general law, classification of property for purposes of taxation, the imposition of special taxes and taxes on incomes, and authorizing reasonable exemptions.....Leg. Amend.	52,362	122,704	175,066 D
29. Permitting an enactment of a general law authorizing cities to consolidate on vote of their electors.....Leg. Amend.	96,116	77,671	173,787

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. An amendment to Section 8, Article II, of the constitution, by adding thereto, on line three, after the word "college" and before the word "the" the following: "South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind, located at Cedar Springs."..... Leg. Amend..... Adopted
2. Relating to municipal bonded indebtedness, by adding a proviso as to the school district of Yorkville..... Leg. Amend..... Adopted
3. To empower the Cities of Florence and

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Complete List of Measures by States Continued

Orangeburg and the Town of Landrum to assess abutting property for permanent improvements....Leg. Amend....Adopted

4. An amendment to Section 20, Article III, of the constitution, by adding thereto the following: "Except where there is only one candidate nominated for the place to be filled at such election, in which case the election shall be viva voce without any roll call"....Leg. Amend....Adopted
5. Relating to municipal bonded indebtedness by adding a proviso as to the City of Florence....Leg. Amend....Adopted
6. To empower the Cities of Chester and Sumter each to issue bonds to an amount not exceeding fifteen per cent of the assessed value of the taxable property therein for the improvement of streets and sidewalks....Leg. Amend....Adopted
7. To empower the Towns of Latta and Dillon to assess abutting property for permanent improvements....Leg. Amend....Adopted
8. An amendment to Section 1, Article XII, of the constitution, by striking out the words "blind, deaf and dumb" after the word "insane" on line two, and before the word "and" on line two....Leg. Amend....Adopted
9. To empower the Town of Fort Mill to assess abutting property for permanent improvement....Leg. Amend....Adopted
10. To empower the Cities of Anderson, Greenwood and Towns of Bennettsville, Timmonsville and Honea Path to assess abutting property for permanent improvements....Leg. Amend....Adopted

South Dakota		YES	NO	TOTAL
1. Woman suffrage	Leg. Amend.	39,605	51,519	91,124 D
2. Amending local option law	Ref. Stat.	38,000	51,779	89,779 D
3. Constitutional convention	Leg. Resolut'n.	34,832	51,585	86,417 D
4. New primary act	Ref. Stat.	37,106	44,697	81,803 D
5. Reducing interest on school fund loans	Leg. Amend.	45,554	35,102	80,656
6. Taking limit off term of county school superintendents	Leg. Amend.	32,092	45,733	77,825 D
7. Fixing course of study at Aberdeen Normal School	Ref. Stat.	27,538	49,382	76,920 D
8. Four-year legislative terms	Leg. Amend.	29,746	45,051	74,797 D
9. State board of control for charitable and penal institutions	Leg. Amend.	29,601	44,107	73,708 D
10. Permitting cities and counties to own and operate irrigation works	Leg. Amend.	32,958	40,457	73,415 D
11. Providing for appointment of substitute judge for supreme court when member of court is interested party	Leg. Amend.	36,317	36,543	72,860 D
12. Allowing legislature to fix percentage of city initiative referendum	Leg. Amend.	28,226	43,162	71,388 D

Texas				
1. Initiative, referendum and recall	Leg. Amend	62,166	66,779	128,945 D

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Complete List of Measures by States Continued		YES	NO	TOTAL
2. Increasing pay of legislators	Leg. Amend.	37,221	89,307	126,528 D
3. Issuing bonds for improvement districts and permitting gulf cities to build sea walls	Leg. Amend.	47,130	77,958	125,088 D
VERMONT				
1. Direct primary law	Leg. Stat.*	22,645	5,697	28,342
2. Preferential primary whereby voters may instruct their delegates to political conventions as to their preference for candidates for office	Leg. Stat.*	11,312	8,021	19,333
WASHINGTON				
1. Prohibition	Init. Stat.	189,840	171,208	361,048
2. Universal eight-hour day	Init. Stat.	118,881	212,935	331,816 D
3. Creating teachers' retirement fund	Ref. Stat.	59,051	252,356	311,407 D
4. Regulating employment agencies	Init. Stat.	162,054	144,544	306,598
5. First aid by employer for his workmen injured in very hazardous employments	Init. Stat.	143,738	154,166	297,904 D
6. Providing for convict road work	Init. Stat.	111,805	183,726	295,531 D
7. Quincy Valley irrigation act	Ref. Stat.	102,315	189,065	291,380 D
8. Blue-sky law	Init. Stat.	142,017	147,298	289,315 D
9. Abolition of bureau of inspection of public offices	Init. Stat.	117,882	167,080	284,962 D
10. Prohibiting alien land ownership	Leg. Amend.	55,080	212,542	267,622 D
WISCONSIN				
1. Initiative and referendum	Leg. Amend.	81,155	143,800	224,955 D
2. Constitutional amendments to be submitted to people after having been passed by three-fifths of members elected to both houses of the legislature	Leg. Amend.	68,639	156,068	224,707 D
3. Permitting insurance by the state and providing that the state may grant annuities, with an annual accounting, a separation and safeguarding of all insurance funds	Leg. Amend.	56,990	163,992	220,982 D
4. Home rule for cities and villages	Leg. Amend.	82,247	138,307	220,554 D
5. Increasing pay of legislators and decreasing mileage	Leg. Amend.	65,193	153,166	218,359 D
6. Recall of all except judicial officials	Leg. Amend.	77,876	140,344	218,220 D
7. Permitting state to provide for state insurance with an annual accounting and separation and safeguarding of all insurance funds	Leg. Amend.	55,230	161,055	216,285 D
8. Requiring legislature upon petition to submit constitutional amendments to the people	Leg. Amend.	65,008	146,163	211,171 D
9. Authorizing legislature to decrease the number of judicial circuits and to provide for judges in several circuits	Leg. Amend.	60,143	150,764	210,907 D
10. Excess condemnation of land in cities	Leg. Amend.	58,306	150,621	208,927 D
WYOMING				
1. Fixing tax on live stock to create a fund for the payment of bounties on predatory animals	Leg. Amend.	20,419	8,331	†28,750 D
2. Workmen's compensation	Leg. Amend.	24,258	3,915	28,173
3. Lengthening legislative session	Leg. Amend.	16,996	8,479	†25,475 D
4. Allowing state to bond itself for internal improvements	Leg. Amend.	16,882	7,507	†24,389 D

*Advisory referenda.

†(A majority [22,439] of the total votes [44,877] cast at the election was necessary to pass each amendment.)

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